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A Handbook of the Life of the
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A Handbook
OF THE
Life of the Apostle Paul

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A HANDBOOK OF THE LIFE
OF THE APOSTLE PAUL

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

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LONDON AND EDINBURGH



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A HANDBOOK

OF THE

LIFE OF THE APOSTLE PAUL

AN OUTLINE FOR CLASS ROOM AND
PRIVATE STUDY

BY
ERNEST DEWITT BURTON

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THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

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First Three Editions Privately Printed
Fourth Edition Published September 1904
Fifth Edition July 1906
Second Impression April 1908
Third Impression July 1909

Printed By
The University of Chicago Press
Chicago, Illinois, U.S.A.

PREFATORY NOTE.

THIS little handbook is printed primarily for the use of my own classes and correspondence students. Its specific aim is set forth in the chapter on Method of Study, pp. 9-11 ff. Teachers and students using the book are urged to read this chapter at the outset. The outline follows closely that presented in the volume entitled "Records and Letters of the Apostolic Age," to the publishers of which, Messrs. Chas. Scribner's Sons, I am indebted for the privilege of reproducing it in this modified form.

The essays printed in Part II, with the exception of the last one, which appears here for the first time, were first issued in the *BIBLICAL WORLD*, and were published with the statement that they were intended to furnish help in the intelligent *reading* of the books of the Bible as *books*, and aimed to present not so much fresh results of critical investigation, as well established and generally recognized conclusions. They are incorporated in the present handbook with a view to giving the student in brief form help in two directions ; first in bringing before his mind the situation out of which each letter came, and second in following the course of thought in the letter itself.

The present edition differs from the first issued in 1897, in the arrangement of the material on the page, in the addition of references to the literature which has appeared in the last two years, in the addition of an Outline of "Forty Lessons" pp. 35-41, and in the substitution of the present chapter on the Letters to Timothy and Titus for that which appeared in the first edition.

ERNEST D. BURTON.

OCTOBER, 1899.

Publisher's Note to Fourth Edition: The present edition differs from that of 1899 only in the slight revision of the list of books printed on pp. 33, 34 and in the correction of a few typographical errors.

SEPTEMBER, 1904.

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PART I.

THE LIFE OF PAUL.

METHOD OF STUDY.

1. *Study the historical background.* Some knowledge of the geography of the countries in which Paul lived and worked, some acquaintance with their political condition and with the customs, religion, and morals of the people is necessary to enable one to understand the New Testament record of Paul's life. Some measure of such knowledge every student who undertakes this course will already have. The study may, however, properly begin with a fresh survey of the whole field, such as is outlined in the Topics for Study on pp. 13,14; and, as in the subsequent study questions of geography and history arise, these should be investigated, as far as may be necessary in order to set the events of the apostle's life in their true historical relation and perspective.

2. *Fix in mind the facts recorded in the New Testament.*

(a) Learn the titles of the chapters and sections of the outline. This outline being for the most part simply a distribution of the Scripture material into chapters and sections, with titles to indicate the successive periods and events, the order of events can be best fixed in mind by memorizing these titles. This will be done to best advantage chapter at a time.

(b) As each narrative section is taken up, read carefully the Scripture material, endeavoring to understand it and to fix the facts in mind. Do not overlook the matter cited from the epistles. When necessary, make an analysis of the section.

(c) Note, in writing, any points of obscurity or matters requiring investigation in order to understand the record. Exclude all questions of mere curiosity and those that pertain to modern affairs only. Maintain the historical point of view.

(d) Investigate these matters so far as time and facilities permit.

(e) Read, as time permits, the discussion of the successive

events of the history in Conybeare and Howson, Farrar, McGiffert, or other books at your command.

(f) Having re-read the Scripture narrative, write out a succinct account of the event or events.

3. *Study the letters of the apostle from the historical point of view.* That the apostle wrote this or that letter is itself a fact of his life. Endeavor to weave this fact into the narrative of his life.

(a) Read the epistle to discover what evidence it itself affords of the circumstances that gave rise to it.

(b) Read the section in Part II which treats of the occasion of the letter under examination, or the corresponding section in any "Introduction" to Paul's epistles which is within your reach.

(c) Write out a brief statement of the occasion and purpose of the letter.

(d) Keeping in mind this purpose, read the letter again with special reference to its course of thought. To facilitate this work the student may use the analyses of the epistles printed in Part II, or, better, make an analysis for himself, comparing it afterward with the printed analysis, and revising either where it seems not to represent correctly the apostle's course of thought.

4. *Co-ordinate the results of your study.* Bearing in mind that the purpose of the whole course is to gain a true knowledge and a just impression of the life, character, and thought of the apostle Paul, seek to bring all the results of your study into relation to one another with this end in view.

(a) Make frequent reviews of the ground already covered, especially at the end of the successive chapters, tracing the journeys of the apostle from point to point, connecting the events together into a continuous narrative, and observing their relation to one another. Take special pains in such reviews to connect together the facts narrated in Acts and the data yielded by the epistles.

(b) Make special investigation of the more important topics pertaining to the history and life of the times, the place or significance of events, or their relation to one another. Many such subjects are suggested in the list of Topics for Study. Blank numbers have been left at the end of each chapter to enable the teacher or student to add other subjects. These topics may be assigned by the instructor or selected by the student, and brief essays or longer papers be prepared according as time permits.

(c) Bring all the material thus obtained into relation to the life of the apostle. Make all memorization of facts and all investigation of details contribute to the understanding of the life and character of Paul himself.

5. After studying the historical background, as indicated in 1 above, embody your results in a brief chapter or chapters describing the world in which Paul lived and did his work. Then as the study of each chapter of the Outline is completed, embody the results of your study in a chapter on this period of the life of Paul, dividing each chapter into sections according to the necessities of the case, and incorporating the work indicated under 2 (f). Number these sections continuously. You will then at the conclusion of your study have a "Life of Paul" for your own use, the result of your own study of the original sources.

OUTLINE OF THE LIFE OF PAUL.

ARRANGED IN CHAPTERS AND SECTIONS, WITH TOPICS FOR STUDY.

INTRODUCTION.

THE WORLD OF PAUL'S DAY.

A. The Roman World.

Acts 11:28-30; 18:2; 22:27; 24:27; ¹ Cor. 11:32.

TOPICS FOR STUDY.

1. The Roman World in the First Century.

SEIDEL, pp. 10-48; CH.² chap. i; *DURUV, History of Rome, Vols. IV, V; *MARQUARDT, Das Privatleben der Roemer; FRIEDLAENDER, Sittengeschichte Roms; *INGE, Rome in the Time of Cæsar; *BECKER, Gallus.

- a) Extent of the Roman Empire.
- b) Means of travel and communication.
- c) Languages of intercourse and literature.
- d) Rome and her dependencies: the policy of Rome in regard to her dependencies; vassal kingdoms and provinces; classes of provinces.

ARNOLD, Roman Provincial Administration; A. I. Essays: MOREY, Rome and the provinces.

2. Religion and morals in the Roman Empire.

FISHER, chaps. ii-vi; SEIDEL, Pt. I., and other ref., under 1.

- a) The policy of Rome in respect to Judaism: *Religiones*

¹ The passages cited in this and the following section are not intended to give all the information the New Testament contains concerning Paul's relation to the Roman Empire and to Judaism, but only to locate him in a general way in Roman and Jewish history.

² For Explanation of abbreviations see p. 33.

B. The Jewish World.

Acts 22:3; 12:1; 13:1; 25:13, 14; Phil. 3:5, 6.

TOPICS FOR STUDY.

licitæ and religiones illicitæ; the privileges of Judaism.

- b)* Morality in Palestine and in the empire at large.
- c)* Philosophy and its effect on religion.

FISHER, chap. v; PRESSENSE. The Ancient World and Christianity, pp. 432 ff.; *FRIEDLAENDER, Sittengeschichte, Vol. III, chap. v.

- d)* The attitude of Greeks and Romans toward religion.

3. Judaism in the First Century.

MATHEWS; SEIDEL, pp. 49-188; CH, chap. ii; FARRAR, chap. vii; *SCHUERER, §§ 22, 31; FISHER, chap. vii.

- a)* Jews in Palestine: Languages spoken; general type of thought and religion; parties and schools of thought.
- b)* Jews in other lands of the Empire: Extent of the dispersion; effect of travel and residence in non-Jewish lands.
- c)* Hellenism: In language; in thought and practice.
- d)* Influence of Judaism on Greeks and Romans: The Roman estimate of Jews as reflected in literature; proselytes; "the devout."

C. The Rise of the Christian Church.

Acts chaps. 1—8.

TOPICS FOR STUDY.

11. Primitive Christianity.

VOTAW, pp. 5-38; LECHLER, Vol. I, pp. 5-108; McGIFFERT, chap. ii; NEANDER, Bk. I.

a) Christian Judaism.

b) Hellenism in the Jerusalem church; the Stephen party.

NEANDER. Bks. I, II; McGIFFERT, chap. ii; LECHLER, Vol. I.

12. Sources of the Life of Paul.

a) The Book of Acts as a source for the Life of Paul.

SALMON, Lecture xviii; RAMSAY, St. P. pp. 1-28, 383-390; WEIZSAECKER, Vol. I, 208-213; WENDT, and other Comm. on Acts, Introd.; McGIFFERT, *passim* (see index), and authors referred to on p. 214; GILBERT, appendix; HASTINGS, DB.; SMITH,³ DB., art. Acts.

b) The Epistles of Paul as sources for his life,

WEISS; GODET, pp. 35-60; KNOWLING, Witness of the Epistles, chaps. ii, iii.

13. The Chronology of the Apostolic Age and of the Life of Paul.

RL., 201-207; HARNACK, Vol. I, pp. 233-243, 717 ff (the latter, a table, which is translated in Biblical World, Vol. IX, pp. 385 ff.); McGIFFERT, p. 673 and *passim*; see also reff. on topic 122.

a) The focal points of the chronology.

b) The leading theories.

c) A working hypothesis.

CHAPTER I.

LIFE BEFORE HIS CONVERSION TO CHRISTIANITY.

1. His childhood.

Acts 22: 3, 27, 28; 23:6, 16; Phil. 3:5.

2. His education.

Acts 18:3; 22:3; 26:4, 5; Gal. 1:14.

3. His career as a Pharisee and a persecutor.

Acts 7:58—8:3; 22:4, 5, 20; 26:5, 9—11; 1 Cor. 15:9; Gal. 1:13; Phil 3:5, 6; 1 Tim. 1:13.

TOPICS FOR STUDY.

20. Jewish education in general and Paul's education in particular.

KITTO, *Cyclopedia of Bib. Lit.*, art. Education; CH, chap. ii; FARRAR, chap. iii; SIMON, *L'Education Juive*; GILBERT, chap. iii; ABBOTT chap. ii; HASTINGS DB., art. Education, Vol. I, pp. 649—651.

21. The moral character and religious experience of Paul before his conversion to Christianity.

FARRAR, chap. iii; A. I. ESSAYS: BURTON, Saul's Experience on the Way to Damascus; GILBERT, chap. iii.

CHAPTER II.

CONVERSION AND EARLY CHRISTIAN LIFE.

4. His conversion.

(19)¹ Acts 9:1-19a; 22:5-16; 26:12-18; Gal. 1:15-17; Gal. 2:19; 1 Cor. 9:1; 15:8; 2 Cor. 4:6; Phil. 3:7-11.

5. In Damascus and Arabia.

(20) Acts 9:19b-25; 26:19, 20; Gal. 1:17b, 18a; 2 Cor. 11:32, 33.

6. In Jerusalem, Syria, and Cilicia.

(21) Acts 9:26-31; 22:17-21; Gal. 1:18-24.

TOPICS FOR STUDY.

30. The sources of information concerning Saul's conversion; the relation of the three accounts in Acts to one another; the relation of the testimony of the epistles to the narratives in Acts.

31. The nature of Paul's conversion.,

a) Preparation for it in his previous life.

b) "The revelation of Christ."

c) The moral change involved.

d) The external features of the experience.

FARRAR, chap. x; SABATIER, Bk. I, chap. iii; A. I. ESSAYS: BURTON, Saul's Experience; LECHLER, Vol. I, pp. 311-317; GILBERT, chap. iv; ABBOTT, chap. ii.

32. The relation of the conversion to his "gospel."

STEVENS, Pauline Theology, chap. i; Theology of New Testament, pp. 324 ff.; A. I. ESSAYS: RHEES, Saul's Experience as a Factor in his Theology; MCGIFFERT, chap. iii.

33. Paul's sojourn in Arabia, was it a period of meditation or of evangelization?

34. The substance of his preaching in this early period.

35. Is the harmonization implied in § 6 correct.

RAMSAY, St. Paul, pp. 60-64; HACKETT on Acts 9:39 and other commentaries; GILBERT, chap. v.

¹ The figures in parenthesis denote the corresponding sections in BURTON, Records and Letters of the Apostolic Age.

CHAPTER III.

EARLY MINISTRY IN ANTIOCH.

7. The beginning of the gospel in Antioch.
(26) Acts 11:19-24.
8. Paul's first ministry in Antioch.
(26) Acts 11:25, 26.
9. The relief visit to Jerusalem.
(27-29) Acts 11:27-12:25; [Gal. 2: 1-10].

TOPICS FOR STUDY.

40. Antioch, and the composition and Christianity of the Antioch church.
WESTCOTT AND HORT, Greek Testament, Vol. II, Appendix, p. 93; HORT, Judaistic Christianity, pp. 58-60; WENDT and other commentaries on Acts 11:20; CH, chap. iv; FARRAR, chap. xxi, esp. p. 160; McGIFFERT, pp. 108f.; HASTINGS, DB, art. Antioch.
41. The beginning of Gentile Christianity: was it at Cæsarea (Acts, chap. 10), or at Antioch in Syria, or at Antioch in Pisidia?
HORT (pp. 57-65) and other authors cited under topic 40; also McGIFFERT pp. 182-185), and commentaries on Acts 14:46 f.
42. Gal. 2:1-10 and its parallels in Acts.
 - a) NEANDER, Bk. III, chap. ii; CH, note after chap. vii; LIGHTFOOT, Com. on Galatians, pp. 123-128; SANDAY, in *Expositor*, February and July, 1896; GILBERT, chap. viii; HARNACK, Vol. I, p. 234 n. 3.; LECHLER, Vol. I, pp. 193 ff.
 - b) RAMSAY, St. P., pp. 40-60.
 - c) WEIZSAECKER, Vol. I, pp. 104 f., 200-208; WENDT on Acts 11:29 f.
 - d) McGIFFERT, pp. 170-172.
 - e) BARTLET, in *Expositor*, October, 1899.
43. The date of Herod's death and the value of this datum for the chronology of Paul's life.
RL. pp. 201-203; WIESELER, pp. 129-136; SCHUERER, Div. I, Vol. II, pp. 163-165; RAMSAY, St. P., pp. 48-69. (Observe the difference between Ramsay's arrangement of events and that represented in our outline.)

CHAPTER IV.

FIRST MISSIONARY JOURNEY.

10. Barnabas and Saul sent forth from Antioch.

(31) Acts 13:1-3.

11. Preaching the word at Salamis and Paphos.

(32) Acts 13:4-12.

12. At Pisidian Antioch.

(33) Acts 13:13-52.

13. At Iconium.

(34) Acts 14:1-7.

14. At Lystra and Derbe, and the return to Antioch in Syria.

(35) Acts 14:8-28.

TOPICS FOR STUDY.

50. The significance of this missionary journey as compared with previous missionary work. Is it the first definitely planned missionary work? Is it the beginning of missions to the Gentiles?

51. The island of Cyprus; its physical character; political status; cities.
CH, chap. v; SMITH, DB.; HASTINGS, DB.; DAVIS, DB., art. Cyprus.

52. Paul's sermon at Antioch; its material, structure, aim; the character of early Christian preaching in general.
LECHLER, Vol. I, pp. 318-324.

53. The political divisions of Asia Minor at this period; the physical character of the portions traversed in this journey.
CH, chap. viii; RAMSAY, C. R. E., chaps. ii, iii, and map; MOMMSEN, Provinces of the Roman Empire, chap. viii.

54. Were the churches at Pisidian Antioch, Iconium, Derbe, and Lystra the "churches of Galatia"?
LIGHTFOOT, Com. on Galatians, pp. 18-35; RAMSAY, C. R. E., chaps. iv-vi; RL, 212-216 and ref. on p. 216; MCGIFFERT, pp. 178 ff; GILBERT, Appendix III; HASTINGS, DB., art. Galatia.

CHAPTER V.

SECOND SOJOURN IN ANTIOCH, AND THE COUNCIL
AT JERUSALEM.

15. The council at Jerusalem.
(36) *Acts 15:1-29; [Gal. 2:1-10]*.
16. Report of the council's action to the church at Antioch.
(37) *Acts 15:30-35*.
17. Peter's visit to Antioch.
(38) *Gal. 2:11-21*.

TOPICS FOR STUDY.

60. Is *Gal. 2:1-10* parallel with *Acts 15:1-29*? See topic 42.
61. The question at issue in the council at Jerusalem, and the parties to the controversy.
CH, chap. vii; *FARRAR*, chap. xxii; *WEIZSAECKER*, Vol. I, pp. 175-200; *McGIFFERT*, pp. 192-202; *Commentaries on Acts*, chap. 15, and *Gal.*, chap. 2; *LECHLER*, Vol. I, pp. 201-229; *GILBERT*, chap. viii.
62. The question raised by Peter's visit to Antioch; its relation to that discussed at Jerusalem; its significance.
FARRAR, chap. xxiii; *McGIFFERT*, pp. 202 ff; *Commentaries on Gal. 2:11-21*; *LECHLER*, Vol. I, pp. 229 ff.

CHAPTER VI.

SECOND MISSIONARY JOURNEY.

18. The dissension between Paul and Barnabas.
(39) *Acts 15:36-41.*
19. The churches in southern Asia Minor revisited.
(40) *Acts 16:1-5.*
20. The journey to Troas, and the vision of Paul.
(41) *Acts 16:6-10.*
21. The beginning of the gospel in Philippi.
(42) *Acts 16:11-40.*
22. The planting of the church in Thessalonica.
(43) *Acts 17:1-9; 1 Thess. 1:2-2:14; 2 Thess, 3:7, 8; Phil. 4:15, 16.*

TOPICS FOR STUDY.

70. The various interpretations of *Acts 16:6*, and the bearing of them on the location of the Galatian churches.
RAMSAY, C. R. E., chap. iv; also in *Expositor*, 1894, 1895; CHASE in *Expositor*, Dec., 1893, May, 1894; and reff. under topics 53, 54.
71. The so-called "we-sections" of the book of *Acts*; their extent, character for accuracy, and authorship.
WEIZSAECKER, Vol. I, pp. 241-246; WENDT, pp. 16 ff; RAMSAY, C. R. E. pp. 6-8 and Index; McGIFFERT, pp. 234 ff.
72. The political status of Macedonia and Achaia, and of the cities Philippi, Thessalonica, Athens, Corinth.
CH, chaps. ix and xii *passim*; A. I. ESSAYS: MOREY, Rome and the Provinces; arts. in SMITH, DB.; HASTINGS, DB.; DAVIS, DB.; BURTON, art. The Politarchs, *Am. Jour. Theol.*, July, 1898.
73. The founding of the church in Thessalonica as reported in *Acts*, and as told in 1 Thess.
BORNEMANN, Kommentar ueber die Thessalonicherbriefe (Meyer, Series), pp. 11-29.
74. The missionary policy pursued by Paul under the guidance of the Spirit.

23. Preaching in the synagogue at Berœa.
(44) Acts 17:10-15.
24. Paul at Athens.
(45) Acts 17:16-34; 1 Thess. 3:1, 2.
25. First ministry in Corinth; the two letters to the Thessalonians.
(46) Acts 18:1-17; 1 Cor. 9:1, 2; 3:5, 6, 10; 1:14-16; 2:1-5; 3:1, 2; 9:11, 12; 2 Cor. 11:7-9, 19; 1 Thess. 3:6, 7; Phil. 4:15.
1 Thessalonians; 2 Thessalonians.¹

TOPICS FOR STUDY.

75. Paul's attitude toward heathen peoples and their religion, as shown in the speech at Athens and the epistle to the Romans.
76. Where and before whom was Paul's speech in Athens delivered?
RAMSAY, St. Paul, pp. 241 f, 260 f, and in *Expositor*, September and October, 1895; MANATT, Must we give up the Pauline Areopagus?, in *Andover Review*, Nov., 1892.
77. Communication between Paul and the church in Philippi.
Phil. 4:15; 2 Cor. 11:9, 1 Thess. 3:6, compared with 1:1; Part II of this book, section on Philippians.
78. The occasion, purpose, and date of First Thessalonians.
On this and all subsequent similar topics see Part II of this book, GLOAG, GODET, McGIFFERT, notes in RL. Cf. Method of Study, 3.
79. The analysis of First Thessalonians.
On this and all similar topics see Part II of this book, ABBOTT, GODET, and the Commentaries on the respective books. But see Method of Study, 3 (d).
80. The occasion, purpose, and date of Second Thessalonians.
81. The analysis of Second Thessalonians.

¹ The insertion of the name of a letter in bold-face type indicates that the letter was written in the period covered by the section under which it stands. Cf. Method of Study, 3.

26. Return to Syria, and third sojourn in Antioch; the letter to the Galatians.

(47) *Acts 18:18-23a.*
Galatians.

TOPICS FOR STUDY.

82. The expectations of the apostle Paul concerning the coming of Christ reflected in 1 Thess. and 2 Thess; the distinction between expectation and definite teaching; the relation of his expectations and teaching to the teaching of Jesus; the point of view of the two letters compared.

83. The genuineness and integrity of the letters to the Thessalonians.

SALMON, *Lect. xx*; JUELICHER, pp. 34-44; WEIZSAECKER, Vol. I, pp. 293-298; SCHMIDT, *Der Erste Thessalonicherbrief, nebst einem Exurs ueber den zweiten gleichnamigen*; WEISS, pp. 6 ff; BORNEMANN, *Kommentar (Meyer Series)*, pp. 300-317; 498 ff.

84. The occasion, purpose, and date of Galatians.

See under topic 78, and as respects date cf. reff. under topic 42.

85. The analysis of Galatians.

86. The genuineness of Galatians, First and Second Corinthians, and Romans; the attitude of modern criticism since Baur. BAUR, *St. Paul*, chaps. i-iii; SALMON, *Lectures ii and xx*; KNOWLING, *Witness of the Epistles*, chap. ii, iii; WEISS, pp. 19-46.

CHAPTER VII.

THIRD MISSIONARY JOURNEY.

27. The churches of the Galatian region and Phrygia revisited.
(48) *Acts 18:23.*
28. Apollos in Ephesus and Corinth.
(49) *Acts 18:24-28; 1 Cor. 3:5, 6.*
29. Paul's ministry in Ephesus: the first letter to the Corinthians.
(50) *Acts 19:1-20:1.*
 - (1) Twelve disciples baptized by Paul.
Acts 19:1-7.
 - (2) The gospel preached in Ephesus and made known in all Asia.
Acts 19:8-10; 19:26; 20:18-35; 1 Cor. 4:11-13.
 - (3) Miracles wrought.
Acts 19:11-20.
 - (4) Communication with Corinth.
1 Cor. 5:9; 7:1; 1:11; 16:17; 4:17; 16:10; 16:8; cf. also 2 Cor. 12:14; 13:1.
1 Corinthians.

TOPICS FOR STUDY.

90. The regions referred to in *Acts 18:23*; cf. topics 53, 54, 70.
91. The province of Asia: its extent and political status.
CH, chap. xvi; SMITH, DB.; HASTINGS, DB.; DAVIS, DB., art. Asia.
92. The city of Ephesus: its political status, characteristics, and religious condition.
CH, chap. xvi; SMITH, DB.; HASTINGS, DB.; DAVIS, DB., art. Ephesus; RAMSAY, C. R. E., chap. vii.
93. Sorcery and magic among the Greeks and Jews.
CH, chap. xiv; DOELLINGER, Gentile and Jew, Vol. II, pp. 210 ff; LIGHTFOOT, Com. on Colossians, pp. 375 ff.
94. The occasion, purpose, and date of First Corinthians.

(5) Plans for the future.

Acts 19:21,22; 1 Cor. 16:3-11; 2 Cor. 1:15-17, 23.

(6) The riot of Demetrius, and Paul's departure.

Acts 19:23—20:1: *cf.* 1 Cor. 15:30-32; 2 Cor. 1:8, 9.

30. From Ephesus into Macedonia; the second letter to the Corinthians.

(51) Acts 20:1.

2 Corinthians.

31. In Macedonia and Achaia; the letter to the Romans.

(52) Acts 20:2, 3.

Romans.

TOPICS FOR STUDY.

95. The analysis of First Corinthians.

96. The occasion, purpose, and date of Second Corinthians.

97. The analysis of Second Corinthians.

98. The unity of Second Corinthians.

CLEMEN, pp. 57-66, esp. 66; WEISS, pp. 30 ff; KENNEDY, in *Expositor*, September, 1897, pp. 231 ff, October, 1897, pp. 285 ff, and October, 1899, pp. 182 ff; McGIFFERT, pp. 311 ff.

99. The communication between Paul and the Corinthians in this period: a connected account, including discussion of the lost letter or letters.

RL, pp. 216 ff; CH, chap. xv; FARRAR, chap. xxiii; GLOAG, pp. 174-180; GODET, pp. 295 ff; WEISS, pp. 28 ff; McGIFFERT, pp. 310 ff.

100. The Christ-party at Corinth.

BAUR, Die Christus-partei in der Corinthgemeinde, *Tuebinger Zeitschrift f. Theologen*, 1832; in this essay Baur first set forth the elements of his theory of the apostolic history; though not easily accessible, it is cited here because of its historic significance; NEANDER, Bk. III, chap. vii, *med.*; GODET, pp. 250-256; WEISS, p. 29; McGIFFERT, pp. 295 ff; WEIZSAECKER, Vol. I, pp. 354 ff; LECHLER, Vol. I, pp. 182 ff.

101. The situation of the apostle when he wrote Romans; the occasion and purpose of the letter.

32. The journey from Corinth to Jerusalem.

(53) *Acts 20:4—21:16.*

TOPICS FOR STUDY

102. The analysis of Romans.

103. The integrity of the epistle to the Romans.

BAUR, Part II, chap. iii; WEISS, p. 45; SANDAY AND HEADLAM, *Com. on Romans*, pp. lxxxv—xcviii; LIGHTFOOT, *Bib. Essays*, pp. 285—374; SCHUERER, art. *Romans*, in *Encyclopedie Britannica*; GIFFORD, *Romans*, pp. 20—30; CLEMEN, pp. 94—99.

104. Paul's collection for the saints of Jerusalem; the churches from which it was obtained; the method and agencies employed; the motives appealed to; Paul's own motive in making it.

105. Paul's position concerning the relation of Christians to the heathen, their idols, and their sacrifices. Cf. topic 75.

CHAPTER VIII.

LAST VISIT TO JERUSALEM.

33. Paul's reception by the church in Jerusalem.
(54) *Acts 21:17-26.*
34. His arrest in Jerusalem.
(55) *Acts 21:27-36.*
35. Address to the people in the Hebrew language.
(56) *Acts 21:37-22:29.*
36. Address before the Sanhedrin.
(57) *Acts 22:30-23:11.*
37. The plot of the Jews, and Paul's removal to Cæsarea.
(58) *Acts 23:12-35.*

TOPICS FOR STUDY.

110. The attitude of the Jerusalem church and of Jewish Christians of the apostolic age toward the observance of the law, and the historical effects in the post-apostolic age. *SCHAFF, Church History, Vol. II, pp. 431 ff; MOELLER, Church History, Vol. I, pp. 72 ff, 94 ff; LECHLER, Vol. I, pp. 172-189, 246 ff; Vol. II, pp. 261-292.*
111. Paul's principles and policy with reference to the observance of the Jewish law, (a) by Gentiles, (b) by Jewish Christians in general, (c) by himself.
112. Paul's relation to the Roman authority.
*Acts, *passim*; Romans, chap. 13; Philemon; 1 Cor. 7:20; RAMSAY, St. P., pp. 304 ff.*
113. The chronology of the period, as indicated in *Acts 21:27; 24:1, II.*
114. The languages spoken by Paul.
115. Paul's addresses to the Jews.
(a) His address to the people; its material, structure, aim, rhetorical characteristics.
(b) His address before the Sanhedrin, treated as above.

CHAPTER IX

TWO YEARS' IMPRISONMENT IN CÆSAREA.

38. Examination before Felix.
(59) *Acts 24:1-23.*
39. Appearance before Felix and Drusilla.
(60) *Acts 24:24-37.*
40. Examination before Festus; appeal to Cæsar.
(61) *Acts 25:1-12.*
41. Before Agrippa and Bernice.
(62) *Acts 25:13-26:32.*

TOPICS FOR STUDY.

120. The political status of Palestine at the time of Paul's arrest, changes since the death of Herod (*Acts 12:20-23*); and the trial of Paul as related to these facts and to Roman law. SCHUERER, *Div. II*, Vol. II, pp. 166-191; MATHEWS; A. I. ESSAYS: MOREY, *The Trial of Paul*.
121. Herod Agrippa II; his relation to the other Herods of the New Testament; his jurisdiction and relation to the procurators; his personal character. FARRAR, *The Herods*; HASTINGS, DB.; SMITH, DB., art. Herod.
122. The date of the accession of Festus, and its bearing on the chronology of the life of Paul. WIESELER, pp. 66-99; SCHUERER, § 19 (Div. I; Vol. II, pp. 182 ff.); HOLTZMANN, *Neutestamentliche Zeitgeschichte*, pp. 128 ff.; HARNACK, Vol. I, pp. 233-239; MCGIFFERT, pp. 356 f (see also *Am. Jour. Theol.*, Vol. I, pp. 145-149); RHEES, § 30; MATHEWS in *Biblical World*, Nov., 1897; HARNACK, Vol. I, pp. 234-239; GILBERT, App. II; HASTINGS, DB., arts. *Chronology* and *Festus*.
123. Paul's sources of income. RAMSAY, *St. P.*, pp. 310 ff.
124. Paul's addresses before the Roman authorities, studied in the manner suggested in topic 115.
125. Paul as an orator: based on topics 115 and 124.

CHAPTER X.

VOYAGE TO ROME.

42. The voyage from Cæsarea to Fair Havens.
(63) Acts 27:1-8.
43. The storm and the shipwreck.
(64) Acts 27:9-44.
44. On the island of Melita.
(65) Acts 28:1-10.
45. From Melita to Rome.
(66) Acts 28:11-15.

TOPICS FOR STUDY.

130. The maritime commerce of the first century.
ZAHN, *Weltverkehr und Kirche* während der drei ersten Jahrhunderte
RAMSAY, *St. P.*, chap. xiv; CH, chap. xxiii.
131. The accuracy of the Acts narrative of the voyage.
SMITH, *Voyage and Shipwreck of St. Paul*; CH, chap. xxiii; RAMSAY,
St. P. chap. xiv.

CHAPTER XI.

TWO YEARS' IMPRISONMENT IN ROME.

46. The conference with the Jews in Rome.
(67) *Acts 28:16-28.*

47. Two years' labors in Rome; the epistles of the imprisonment.
(68) *Acts 28:30, 31; Phil. 1:1, 12-17; 2:19-30; 4:18, 21, 22; Philemon, 1, 10, 12, 22-24; Col. 1:1; 4:7-14; Eph. 3:1; 4:1; 6:21, 22. Philippians, Philemon, Colossians, Ephesians.*

TOPICS FOR STUDY.

135. The occasion, purpose, and date of *Philippians*.
136. The analysis of *Philippians*.
137. The genuineness of *Philippians*.
BAUR, Part II, chap. v; SALMON, Lect. xx; LIGHTFOOT, Com. on Phil.; WEIZSAECKER, Vol. II, pp. 131-137; JUELICHER, pp. 78-82; WEISS, 59-67.

138. The date of *Philemon*, *Colossians*, and *Ephesians*.
LIGHTFOOT, Com. on *Colossians*; MEYER, Com. on *Colossians*; HAUPT, *Die Gefangenschaftsbriefe* (in the Meyer series) Einleitung; GLOAG, pp. 275 ff; GODET, pp. 427 ff; RL, note 12 and reff.

139. The occasion and purpose of *Philemon*.
140. The occasion and purpose of *Colossians*.
141. The analysis of *Colossians*.
142. The occasion and purpose of *Ephesians*.
143. The analysis of *Ephesians*.
144. The genuineness of *Philemon*, *Colossians*, and *Ephesians*; criticism since Baur.
BAUR, Part II, chap. iv, vi; SALMON, Lect. xx; WEIZSAECKER, Vol. II, pp. 240-246; JUELICHER, pp. 82-97; WEISS, pp. 46-59; RHEES, § 32; ABBOTT, T. K., Introd.; GODET, pp. 435-450; 478-490; HASTINGS, DB., arts. *Colossians* and *Ephesians*.

145. The Rome of Nero's day.
DURUY, *History of Rome*, Vol. IV, pp. 571-618; Vol. V, pp. 1-53.

146. The state of Christianity in Rome as it is reflected in the letter to the Romans and in *Acts*, chap. 28.

CHAPTER XII.

FOURTH MISSIONARY JOURNEY AND SECOND
ROMAN IMPRISONMENT.

48. The fourth missionary journey.
(69, 70) 1 Tim. 1:3; Titus 1:5; 3:12, 13; 2 Tim. 1:15-18; 4:13-15, 20.
1 Timothy, Titus.

49. The second Roman imprisonment and death.
(71) 2 Tim. 4:6, 9-14, 16, 17, 21.
2 Timothy.

TOPICS FOR STUDY.

150. The evidence of Paul's release from the Roman imprisonment recorded in Acts; (a) independent of the pastoral epistles; (b) in the pastoral epistles.
SPITTA, Geschichte und Litteratur des Urchristenthums, Vol. I, pp. 1-108; cf. FINDLAY's review in *Critical Review*, July, 1894, pp. 276 ff; HARNACK, pp. 239, 718; SALMON, Lect. xx, *fin.*; RL. 224-226; GILBERT, App. II, pp. 253 ff; MACPHERSON, Was there a second Imprisonment of Paul in Rome? *Am. Jour. Theol.*, Jan., 1900.

151. The genuineness and integrity of the pastoral epistles.
BAUR, Part II, chap. viii; SABATIER, Bk. IV, chap. iv, and appendix by G. G. Findlay; WEISS, pp. 67-68; MCGIFFERT, pp. 398-419; and other reff. in RL, p. 226.

152. The condition of the Pauline churches as reflected in the pastoral epistles.

153. The time and manner of Paul's death.
CH, chap. xxvii; MCGIFFERT, pp. 414 f., 419, 422; HARNACK, Vol. I, pp. 233-244; RAMSAY, St. P., chap. xv.

154. Possible relations of Paul and Peter in Rome.

155. Occasion and purpose of I Timothy.

156. Analysis of I Timothy.

157. Occasion and purpose of the letter to Titus.

158. Analysis of the letter to Titus.

159. Occasion and purpose of II Timothy.

160. Analysis of II Timothy.

SUPPLEMENTARY TOPICS FOR STUDY.

165. Paul's knowledge of the events of Jesus' life as reflected in his letters.
166. Paul's estimate and conception of Christ.
167. The distinctive features of Paul's conception of Christianity, especially as compared with the conceptions of other apostles and with those of the Judaizers.
168. An estimate of Paul, intellectually and morally, and of the distinctive character of his service to the church.

BOOKS RECOMMENDED FOR REFERENCE AND STUDY.

CONYBEARE AND HOWSON, *Life and Epistles of Paul* (CH), various editions.

WEISS, *Genuineness of the Epistles of Paul*; Univ. of Chicago Press. \$0.50.

MCGIFFERT, *The Apostolic Age*; Scribner. \$2.50.

BURTON, *Records and Letters of the Apostolic Age* (RL)¹; Scribner. \$1.50.

SEIDEL, *In the Time of Jesus*; Randolph. \$0.75.

SCHUERER, *The Jewish People in the Time of Christ*, 5 vols.; Scribner. \$8.00. (Third edition of the German original in process of publication.)

MATHEWS, *New Testament Times in Palestine*; Macmillan.

FISHER, *Beginnings of Christianity*; Scribner. \$2.00.

MOREY and others, *American Institute Essays on the Apostolic Age* (A. I. Essays); Univ. of Chicago Press. \$1.00.

NEANDER, *Planting and Training of the Christian Church*; various editions.

WEIZSAECKER, *The Apostolic Age of the Christian Church*, 2 vols.; Putnam. \$5.00.

THATCHER, *The Apostolic Church*; Houghton, Mifflin & Co. \$1.00.

VOTAW, *The Primitive Era of Christianity*; Univ. of Chicago Press. \$0.40.

RAMSAY, *St. Paul the Traveler and the Roman Citizen*; Putnam. \$3.00.

RAMSAY, *Church in the Roman Empire*; Putnam. \$3.00.

¹ These books (except in cases where a special abbreviation is given in parenthesis) are referred to in the pages of this handbook by names of authors only, an abbreviation of the title being added in the cases in which two books by the same author are named. Other books, referred to on special points, are named in full. Works marked with * are books of special value on the matter referred to, but not supposed to be consulted for the purposes of this course.

FARRAR, St. Paul; Dutton & Co. \$2.00.

BAUR, St. Paul, Eng. Trans., 2 vols.; Williams & Norgate.

LECHLER, Apostolic and Post-Apostolic Times, 2 vols.; T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh.

BARTLET,¹ The Apostolic Age; Scribner. \$2.00.

WIESELER, Chronologie der apostolischen Zeitalters.

SABATIER, The Apostle Paul; Pott & Co. \$3.00.

RHEES, Notes on the Life of Paul.

SALMON, Introduction to the New Testament; E. & J. B. Young & Co. \$3.00.

JUELICHER, Introduction to the New Testament; Putnam. \$4.50.

GLOAG, Introduction to the Pauline Epistles; T. & T. Clark. \$3.00.

GODET, Introduction to the New Testament; St. Paul's Epistles; T. & T. Clark. \$4.50.

HACKETT, Commentary on Acts; various editions.

WENDT, Die Apostelgeschichte; in MEYER's Kommentar; Vandenhoeck u. Ruprecht.

KNOWLING, Commentary on Acts (in "The Expositor's Greek Testament"); Dodd & Mead. \$7.50.

HARNACK, Chronologie der altchristlichen Litteratur; Hinrichs.

GILBERT, Student's Life of Paul; Macmillan. \$1.25.

ABBOTT, L., Life and Letters of Paul (ABBOTT); Houghton, Mifflin & Co. \$1.50.

STEVENS, Theology of the New Testament; Scribner. \$2.50.

HASTINGS, Dictionary of the Bible; Scribner. \$24.00, in cloth.

SMITH, Dictionary of the Bible (SMITH², Am. Ed.; SMITH³, Revised Eng. Ed.).

LIGHTFOOT, Biblical Essays; Macmillan. \$3.00.

CLEMEN, Die Einheitlichkeit der paulinischen Briefe; Vandenhoeck u. Ruprecht.

ABBOTT, T. K., Commentary on Ephesians and Colossians (ABBOTT, T. K.); Scribner. \$3.00.

¹ References to Bartlet may be substituted by the teacher for those to Neander and McGiffert, as given in the preceding and following pages.

FORTY LESSONS.

CONSTITUTING THE OUTLINE OF A CONSTRUCTIVE STUDY OF THE LIFE OF PAUL.

General Directions.

Each student should have access, if possible, to at least the following books: (1) RL¹, (2) CH, or FARRAR, (3) NEANDER, MCGIFFERT, GILBERT, or ABBOTT.

References to Outline, §§ 1, 2, etc., are to the scripture material cited under the indicated sections of the Outline in this Handbook, and indicate that the material is first of all to be thoroughly studied as indicated in Method of Study, 2. Reference to CH, NEANDER, etc., signify that the student is to read with care the portions of the indicated chapters which bear upon the subject under consideration. It is not expected that each student will have all the books referred to, but that each will use those which are at his command. References to Topics 1, 2, etc., signify that the student is to investigate, with the resources at his command, the topic so numbered in the Topics for Study. Notice especially Method of Study, 5. The results of each student's work should take shape in a "Life of Paul" of his own writing. He should aim to make this true to fact and clear in style, rather than striking and original. It should be written as carefully as if intended for publication.

Any teacher who judges that this last requirement is too severe for his students, may, of course, omit this feature of the work. That which ought never to be omitted, and on which all other work should be based, is the thorough study of the scripture material.

¹ For explanation of abbreviations see p. 83.

LESSON I.

Read carefully the chapter on Method of Study, pp. 9-11. Study the scripture material cited under Introductory (A, B.). Write an introductory chapter for your "Life of Paul" on "The World of Paul," following somewhat the outline indicated in Topics 1, 2, 3.

LESSON II.

Read Acts, chaps. 1-8. Investigate Topic 11. Write a brief chapter on "Primitive Christianity," covering the period before Paul's conversion.

LESSON III.

Investigate Topic 12 and write a brief section on "The Sources of the Life of Paul." Investigate Topic 13, and prepare for your own use a chronological table, showing only the chief points.

LESSON IV.

Outline, §§ 1, 2, 3; NEANDER, Bk. III, chap. i; FARRAR, chaps. ii, iii, iv, ix; Topics 20, 21. Learn chapter and section titles of chap. I of the Outline. (See Method of Study, 2 (a).) Write chapter on "Paul's Life Before His Conversion."

LESSON V.

Outline, § 4; CH, chap. ii; NEANDER, Bk. III, chap. i; Topics 30, 31.

LESSON VI.

Outline, §§ 5, 6; CH, chap. iii; FARRAR, chaps. xi-xiii; GILBERT, chap. v; Topics 33-35. Learn chapter and section titles of chap. II of the Outline. Write chapter on "Paul's Conversion and Early Christian Life."

LESSON VII.

Outline, §§ 7, 8; CH, chap. iv; NEANDER, Bk. III, chap. ii; FARRAR, chap. xvi; GILBERT, chap. vi; Topic 40.

LESSON VIII.

Outline, § 9; CH, chap. iv; NEANDER, Bk. III, chap. ii; FARRAR, chap. xvii; GILBERT, chap. vi; Topics 42, 43. Learn chapter and section titles of chap. III of the Outline. Write chapter on "The Early Ministry in Antioch."

LESSON IX.

Outline, §§ 10-12; CH, chaps. v, vi; NEANDER, Bk. III, chap. iii; FARRAR, chaps. xix-xxi; GILBERT, chap. vii; Topics, 50-52.

LESSON X.

Outline, §§ 13, 14; Topics 53, 54. Learn chapter and section titles of chap. IV of the Outline. Write chapter on "Paul's First Missionary Journey."

LESSON XI.

Outline, §§ 15, 16; CH, chap. vii; NEANDER, Bk. III, chap. iv; FARRAR, chap. xxii; GILBERT, chap. viii; Topics 60 (cf. 42), 61.

LESSON XII.

Outline, § 17; CH, NEANDER, and GILBERT as above; FARRAR, chap. xxiii; Topic 62. Learn chapter and section titles of chap. V of the Outline. Write chapter on "Second Sojourn in Antioch," etc.

LESSON XIII.

Outline, §§ 18-20; CH, chap. viii; NEANDER, Bk. III, chap. vi; FARRAR, chap. xxiv; GILBERT, chap. ix; Topic 70. Begin the writing of the chapter on "The Second Missionary Journey."

LESSON XIV.

Outline, §§ 21-23 (giving special attention to the historical data furnished by the letters of Paul); CH, chap. ix; NEANDER, and GILBERT as above; FARRAR, chaps. xxv, xxvi; Topics 71-73

LESSON XV.

Outline, §§ 24, 25 (making full use of I and II Thess. for the

history, but not including the detailed study of them); CH, chapters x-xii; NEANDER and GILBERT, as above; FARRAR, chaps. xxvii, xxviii; Topics 76, 77.

LESSON XVI.

Topics 78, 79. See RL, p. 210; Hdbk. Pt. II. pp. 45-47; CH. chap. xi. FARRAR, chap. xxix. In this case and hereafter, as the successive letters are reached, first get before the mind a clear idea of the circumstances under which the letter was written, and then make a careful study of the letter itself, either following the analysis given in the Hdbk. Pt. II, or constructing an analysis of your own. Remember that the purpose of such an analysis is to show the plan and structure of the letter as it lay in the mind of the writer.

LESSON XVII.

Topics 80, 81; RL, p. 211; Hdbk. Pt. II. pp. 47-49.; CH. chap. xi; FARRAR, chap. xxx. See suggestions above.

LESSON XVIII.

Outline, § 26; Topics 84, 85; RL, pp. 212-216; Hdbk. Pt. II, pp. 51-57; CH. chap. xviii; FARRAR, chap. xxxv, xxxvi. Notice the difference of view as to the time and place of this letter.

LESSON XIX.

Learn chapter and section titles of chap. VI. Complete the writing of the chapter on "The Second Missionary Journey."

LESSON XX.

Outline, §§ 27, 28, 29 (1)-(3); CH. chap. xiv; NEANDER, Bk. III. chap. vii; FARRAR, chap. xxxi; GILBERT, chap. x; Topics 90-93.

LESSON XXI.

Outline, § 29(4); CH. chap. xvi; FARRAR, chap. xxxii; Topics 94, 95; RL, Note 8; Hdbk. Pt. II, pp. 59-64. See suggestions on Lesson XVI.

LESSON XXII.

Outline, §§ 29(5), (6), and 30; CH. chap. xvi, xvii; NEANDER as above; FARRAR, chap. xxxi, xxxii; GILBERT, chap. xi. Topics 96, 97; RL, Notes 9, 10; Hdbk. Pt. II. pp. 65-69.

LESSON XXIII.

Outline, § 31; CH. chap. xix; NEANDER and GILBERT as above; FARRAR, chaps. xxxiv and xxxvii-xxxix. Topics 101, 102; RL, Note 11; Hdbk. Pt. II. pp. 71-78.

LESSON XXIV.

Outline, § 32; CH. chap. xx; FARRAR, chap. xl; GILBERT, as above. Learn chapter and section titles of chap. VII of the Outline. Write chapter on "The Third Missionary Journey."

LESSON XXV.

Prepare appendix to the above chapter on Topic 104.

LESSON XXVI.

Outline, §§ 33-35; CH. chap. xxi; NEANDER, Bk. III. chap viii; FARRAR, as above; GILBERT, chap. xii; Topics 110, 111.

LESSON XXVII.

Outline, §§ 36, 37; CH. chap. xxi; FARRAR and GILBERT, as above. Learn chapter and section titles of chap. VIII of the Outline. Write chapter on "Paul's Last Visit to Jerusalem."

LESSON XXVIII.

Outline, §§ 38, 39; CH. chap. xxii; FARRAR, chap. xli; GILBERT as above; Topics 120, 121.

LESSON XXIX

Outline, §§ 40, 41; CH. and GILBERT as above; FARRAR, chap. xlvi; Topic 122. Learn chapter and section titles. Write chapter on "Paul's Imprisonment in Cæsarea."

LESSON XXX.

Outline, §§ 42-45; CH. chap. xxiii; FARRAR, chap. xliv; GILBERT, chap. xiii; Topic 131. Learn chapter and section titles. Write chapter on the "Voyage to Rome."

LESSON XXXI.

Outline, §§ 46, 47 (including the use of the historical data from the epistles, but not the detailed study of the letters themselves); CH. chap. xxiv; NEANDER, Bk. III. chap. ix; FARRAR, chaps. xliv, xlv; GILBERT, chap. xiv.

LESSON XXXII.

Topics, 135, 136; RL, Note 12; Hdbk. Pt. II. pp. 79-82. CH. chap. xxvi; FARRAR, chap. xlvi and xlvii.

LESSON XXXIII.

Topics 138, 139, 140, 141; RL, Note 12; Hdbk. Pt. II, pp. 83-85; CH. chap. xxv; FARRAR, chaps. xlviii-li.

LESSON XXXIV.

Topics 142, 143; RL, Note 12; Hdbk. Pt. II, pp. 85-89; CH. chap. xxv; FARRAR, chap. lii. Learn chapter and section titles. Write chapter on "Paul's Two Year's Imprisonment at Rome."

LESSON XXXV.

Outline, § 48; CH. chap. xxvii: NEANDER, Bk. III. chap. x; FARRAR, chaps. liii-liv; GILBERT, chap. xv; RL, Note 13; Hdbk. Pt. II. pp. 91ff.; Topics 150, 155-158.

LESSON XXXVI.

Outline, § 49; CH. and NEANDER as above; FARRAR, chap. lv-lvii; GILBERT, chap. xv; Topics 159, 160; Hdbk. Pt. II. pp. 98-100. Learn chapter and section titles. Write chapter on "The Last Days of Paul."

LESSON XXXVII.

Test your knowledge of the external facts and general outline of Paul's Life by the following questions:

1. Name the chapters into which the life of Paul is divided in the Outline, and give the sections under each.
2. Give the probable terminal dates of each period of his life.
3. Name the epistles of Paul in the order in which they were written, state the place and date of writing of each, the occasion and general purpose of each.
4. Give the names of all of Paul's companions and fellow-workers.

LESSON XXXVIII.

Write chapters for your Life of Paul on Topics 165 and 166.

LESSON XXXIX.

Write a chapter on Topic 167.

LESSON XL.

Write a chapter on Topic 168.

PART II.

THE LETTERS OF PAUL: THEIR OCCASION AND STRUCTURE.

LETTERS OF PAUL TO THE THESSALONIANS.

AT THE head of the Gulf of Salonica lies today the city of Salonica, next after Constantinople the most important city of Turkey in Europe. Beautiful for situation, admirably located for maritime commerce, the southeastern terminus of a railroad, recently completed and connecting it with central Europe, it seems destined to be with every passing decade a place of greater importance. Twenty-four centuries of continuous history are behind it, through twenty-two of which it has borne substantially the same name. For the modern Salonica is but the abbreviated form of the name Thessalonica, which Philip of Macedonia is said to have given to his daughter in commemoration of a victory over the Thessalians won on the day of her birth, and which when this daughter had grown to maturity her husband, Cassander, gave in honor of his wife to the city which he built on the site of the ancient Halia.

Three centuries and a half after Cassander named it Thessalonica, Paul the Apostle visited this city bringing to it the message of the gospel. He was making his first preaching tour through Macedonia (his second missionary journey as we commonly reckon the missionary journeys), and had just come from Philippi and the evil treatment to which he had been subjected there (I. Thess. 2:1, 2).

His labor here, or at least his success, was chiefly among the Gentiles, and these indeed not proselytes of Judaism either in the stricter or the looser sense of the term, but worshipers of idols. Paul and his companions Silas and Timothy spoke the word with power and the Holy Spirit, and with much assurance, confident that God had in that city a people for himself; and when the Gentiles heard them they turned from their idols to worship a living and true God and to wait for his Son from heaven (I. Thess. 1:5-10). The book of Acts speaks indeed only of work in the synagogue; but this, in view of Paul's own

definite statement, cannot be regarded as a complete account of his work in Thessalonica.

THE FIRST LETTER.

Driven out after a time from the city, Paul and his companions continued southward. The next point which Paul mentions is Athens (1 Thess. 3:1), but Acts tells of a visit to Beroea preceding that at Athens. But though engaged in efforts for the inhabitants of these latter cities, the apostle's heart yearned over the converts whom he had left in Thessalonica, comparatively inexperienced in the Christian life, exposed to persecution from their Gentile neighbors (2:14), and with no mature Christian to instruct or encourage them. Disappointed in his own repeated attempts to visit them (2:17, 18), Paul at length sends Timothy back to Thessalonica to learn how it is going with the young Christians there, remaining himself alone at Athens (3:1). In the interval of Timothy's absence Paul apparently left Athens and went to Corinth; and there Timothy, and at about the same time Silas also, joined him, the former bringing news which on the whole was reassuring and comforting to the apostle concerning the steadfastness of the Thessalonian Christians (3:6-8; cf. 1:1). There are, indeed, indications that they needed some admonition and instruction from the apostle—it would have been strange indeed if converts so lately emerged from heathenism had not needed both. They were exposed to persecution (3:4) and temptation (4:1-8), and their not wholly intelligent expectation of the coming of the Lord had made them mourn unduly over the death of their friends (4:13). Yet while a portion of the letter is occupied in instructing and admonishing the Thessalonians concerning these things, taken as a whole it makes the impression of being a spontaneous outpouring of the apostle's heart to a church which he loved with deep affection, and in whose well-being he was profoundly interested.

The course of the apostle's thought is apparently as follows:

ANALYSIS OF I. THESSALONIANS.

I. SALUTATION.

1:1.

II. REMINISCENCE AND NARRATIVE; the apostle recounts his relations to the church of the Thessalonians up to the time of writing. 1:2—3:13.

1. Reminiscences of his first preaching to the Thessalonians.	1:2-10.
2. Review of his unselfish and sincere labor among them.	2:1-12.
3. Thanksgiving to God for their acceptance of his message.	2:13-16.
4. His desire to visit them.	2:17-20.
5. Timothy's visit and Paul's joy at the news he brought.	3:1-10.
6. Benediction.	3:11-13.
III. INSTRUCTIONS AND EXHORTATIONS.	4:1-5:24.
1. Exhortation to pure and upright Christian living.	4:1-12.
2. Comfort and exhortation concerning Christ's coming again.	4:13-5:11.
a. Comfort concerning them that fall asleep.	4:13-18.
b. Exhortation to watchfulness and sobriety.	5:1-11.
3. Sundry brief exhortations.	5:12-22.
4. Benediction.	5:23, 24.
IV. CONCLUSION.	5:25-28.

THE SECOND LETTER.

The second letter to the church in Thessalonica is manifestly closely connected with the first.

The very occurrence of the name of Silas in the salutation of both letters tends to connect them in time, since there is no intimation in Acts or the letters of the apostle that Silas was with Paul except on his second missionary journey. The situation at Thessalonica depicted in the second letter also reminds one of that which the first letter presents. In certain respects it is nearly the same. As in the first letter the apostle gives thanks for their work of faith, and labor of love, and patience of hope, so here he mentions with thankfulness that their faith is growing exceedingly, and that their love to one another abounds (1:3). The persecutions which the first letter mentions still continue, but they are enduring them with patience and faith (1:4). The coming of the Lord is again the subject—indeed the chief subject—of instruction. But in respect to this the situation is considerably changed and the instruction quite different from that of the first letter. While in the former letter Paul had occasion to comfort them in their grief over the death of some of their number by the assurance that they who thus fell asleep should suffer no disadvantage at the coming of the Lord, he now finds it needful to correct a tendency in the church to restlessness

and perturbation of mind under the influence of the thought that the day of the Lord is already present (2:1, 2) — apparently in the sense, not that the Lord had come as predicted in I. Thess. 4:16, but that the period to which this event belonged had already set in. He also reproves those, seemingly only a small part of the church, who are disposed to be idle and disorderly (3:6-13). This last evil is indeed mentioned in the first letter (4:11, 12; 5:14), but much more briefly and less emphatically. It would seem that it had increased in the interval between the two letters. Neither letter directly associates this tendency to idleness with the expectation of the coming of the Lord, but the suggestion is obvious that the two were in fact connected. It would be easy to reason that if the Lord was speedily to come, if indeed the period of his coming had already set in, all labor for this world's goods was useless toil. So only they could from one day to another obtain bread from those who still had something to spare, this was enough, and daily labor was needless.

The apostle writes, accordingly, chiefly to correct these two errors, one of doctrine and one of life. Concerning the day of the Lord, he assures them that it is not, as they suppose, already present, but that certain things must occur before it comes. His language concerning these antecedents of the day of the Lord is to us now extremely obscure, and has given rise to varied interpretations which it is beyond the scope of this book to discuss.¹ The idlers and busybodies he sharply reproves, bidding them work with quietness and eat their own bread. The total effect which the letter seems intended and adapted to produce is to steady and quiet the immature and easily excitable body of Christians at Thessalonica. The lessons it teaches are of permanent value, and in the main clear, independently of the difficult problems of interpretation, the key to which we have possibly lost. Courage and faith under persecution, calmness, quiet industry in the presence of the greatest expectations — these are duties that never grow obsolete.

The plan of the letter is simple, about as follows :

¹ The student who wishes to grapple with the problem of the interpretation of this passage will find needed help, through a confusing variety of opinion, in the commentaries on the epistle. *Alford's Greek Testament*, Vol. III., Introduction to II. Thessalonians, gives an account of the various views that have been held.

ANALYSIS OF II. THESSALONIANS.

I. SALUTATION.	Chap. 1:1, 2.
II. THANKSGIVING FOR THE PROGRESS OF THE CHURCH AND COMFORT TO THEM IN THEIR PERSECUTIONS.	1:3-12.
III. ERRORS CONCERNING THE DAY OF THE LORD CORRECTED.	Chap. 2
1. Exhortation not to be disturbed by the false notion that the Day of the Lord is already present.	2:1, 2.
2. Events that must precede it.	2:3-12.
3. Thanksgiving that the Thessalonians were chosen unto salvation.	2:13, 14.
4. Benediction.	2:16, 17.
IV. CONCLUSION.	Chap. 3.
1. Request for their prayers and prayer for them.	3:1-5.
2. Instructions concerning disorderly busybodies.	3:6-16.
3. Autograph salutation and benediction.	3:17, 18.

LETTER OF PAUL TO THE GALATIANS.

IT is always a matter of interest in studying a letter to know as much as possible concerning both the writer and the persons addressed, especially of their relations to one another; and since a knowledge of the time and circumstances of the writing of the letter frequently helps in defining to us the situation from which the letter came, it becomes desirable to determine these also. In the case of Paul's letter to the Galatians there are special difficulties in the way of determining these things. We know the writer, indeed, and much of his history. But we cannot determine with certainty who the persons addressed were, or when the letter was written, or where.

Our uncertainty with reference to these matters springs from an uncertainty as to the precise meaning of the term Galatia as used in the salutation of the letter.

Three centuries before Cæsar wrote his *Commentaries*, in which he described all Gaul as divided into three parts, certain members of those tribes which the Romans included under the general name of Galli, left the territory in western Europe where they had lived, and turned eastward and southward seeking new lands to conquer. In 390 B.C. they came into Italy; a little more than a century later they—or to speak more accurately, their descendants—were repulsed at Delphi, and at about the same time (278 B.C.) a detachment of the same stream came into Asia Minor. For a time they overran the whole peninsula, but about 230 B.C. Attalus, king of Pergamum, inflicted a decisive blow on them and confined them within a territory in the interior of the peninsula, somewhat north and east of the center. Thus there was produced in the heart of Asia Minor an eastern Gaul, or as the Greeks called it, Galatia. Forty years later (189 B.C.) Galatia shared the fate of the rest of the peninsula and fell under the power of the Romans, who however left to the Galatian kings a certain degree of independence. Still later, in the latter part of the first century B.C., the Romans

granted to the last of these vassal Gallic kings gifts of territory lying further south and west, including Lycaonia, Pisidia, Pamphylia and a portion of Phrygia.

From this act of generosity, or of prudence, on the part of Rome springs our present perplexity. For, on the death of Amyntas in 25 B.C. the Romans converted what had been the kingdom of Amyntas into a Roman province under the name of Galatia. The word thus had—to say nothing of its possible reference to the Gaul of western Europe, which the Greeks commonly called Galatia also—two possible senses as applied to territory in Asia Minor. It might designate the whole of the Roman province, or it might describe the northern portion which was inhabited by the Asiatic Gauls.

Now, if when Paul wrote to the churches of Galatia, he meant by the term to designate the Roman province, he undoubtedly included the churches which he established on his first missionary journey in Pisidian Antioch, Iconium, Lystra, and Derbe (Acts, chaps. 15 and 16); indeed for reasons that need not be given here, we must conclude that he refers to these alone. But if he used the term to designate the territory inhabited by Gauls, the churches above named are excluded, because they lie in the non-Gallic part of the province. In what cities the churches addressed were located we can in this case only conjecture, since the apostle never names them separately, and the book of Acts likewise uses only very general terms (Acts 16:6; 18:23).

From 1863, when the English scholar Lightfoot published his commentary on the epistle, maintaining that Acts 16:6 refers to a journey into northern Galatia, and that the letter is addressed to the churches established on that journey, there was until lately, among English and American scholars especially, but little dissent from this theory. Recently, however, Professor W. M. Ramsay, having accumulated fresh evidence by exploration in Asia Minor, has propounded anew the theory which had previously been maintained by some but without gaining many adherents, that the Galatian churches of the New Testament were those at Pisidian Antioch, Iconium, Lystra and Derbe. According to this theory, we know nothing of churches in the Gallic portion of the province. Acts 16:6 is either a recapitulatory statement of the journey through the southern part of the province, or refers to a rapid journey from Iconium, Antioch, or other point in that region,

to the place at which the roads to Bithynia and Troas parted; and Acts 18:23 describes a journey through the southern portion of the province.

Deciding where the churches were located decides also when they were founded, and in part when the letter was written. The churches of southern Galatia were established on the first missionary journey (Acts, chaps. 13, 14). If there were any churches in northern Galatia established by Paul, he planted them on the second journey, at the time indicated by Acts 16:6. In the former case, since according to Gal. 4:13 Paul had been in Galatia twice and only twice when he wrote the letter, the writing must have occurred after the journey narrated in Acts 16:1-6, and before that referred to in Acts 18:23. But if the letter was addressed to churches in northern Galatia, the letter must have been written after the journey of Acts 18:23.

These questions are still in dispute, and an altogether certain conclusion does not seem as yet attainable. At present the probability seems to lie on the side of the South-Galatian view, though perhaps not in precisely the form advocated by Ramsay.

But while we are thus unable to locate the letter exactly in the life of the writer, or even to determine to whom it was written, we are fortunate in being able from the letter itself, to determine with a good degree of definiteness, the previous relations of the writer and his readers, the circumstances which gave rise to the letter, and the purpose for which it was written.

The Galatians to whom the letter was written were Gentile Christians, converted from heathenism (4:8), and evidently under the preaching of Paul (1:8, 9; 4:13; *cf.* 3:1 ff.). Paul's first preaching to them was occasioned by illness on his part (4:13). Apparently he had intended to go in some other direction, but was led by illness either to go to Galatia, or being on his way through it to tarry there. He proclaimed to them Jesus Christ and him crucified, preaching salvation through him by faith apart from works of law (3:1, 2). He had evidently imposed no Jewish ordinances, but had taught a purely spiritual Christianity (3:4; 4:8-11; 5:3, 4). The Galatians had received him and his gospel with enthusiasm (4:12-15). They had been baptized (3:27) and had received the gift of the Spirit (3:2-5). Paul had visited them a second time, as is implied in his speaking of "the former"

visit (4:13). Possibly before the second visit there had been false teachers among them (1:9), but if so the defection had not been serious (5:7). More recently, however, a serious attempt had been made to draw them away from the gospel as Paul had preached it to them (1:7; 5:12). This new doctrine opposed to Paul's, was of a judaistic and legalistic type. Its advocates had endeavored to win the Galatians by appealing to the promises of the Old Testament to Abraham and his seed, evidently teaching them either that salvation was possible only to those who were, by blood or adoption, children of Abraham, or that the highest privileges belonged only to these. Though the letter makes no definite statement on this point, it easily appears from the counter argument of the apostle in chapters 3 and 4. (See especially 3:7, 9, 14; 4:21-31). They had laid chief stress upon circumcision, this being the initiatory rite by which a Gentile was adopted into the family of Abraham. Though they had cautiously abstained from endeavoring to impose the whole Jewish law, or from pointing out that this was logically involved in what they did demand, they had induced the Galatians to adopt the Jewish feasts and fasts (4:10). That they denied the apostolic authority of Paul was a necessary consequence of their denial of all the distinctive doctrines of his preaching. This denial seems to have taken the form of representing Paul as a renegade follower of the Twelve, a man who knew nothing of Christianity except what he had learned from the Twelve, and who had perverted this. This appears from the nature of Paul's defense of his independent authority as an apostle in the first two chapters of the letter.

This assault of the judaizers upon the Galatians was upon the very point of succeeding when Paul learned of the state of affairs. They were already removing from the gospel which Paul had taught (1:6); he feared that his labor on them was wasted (4:11); yet in a hopeful moment he was confident in the Lord that they would not be carried away (5:10).

Such is the situation that gives rise to the letter. If it seems to have a double purpose, partly to defend himself, partly to defend his gospel, this is only in appearance. The defense of himself is forced on him by the relation in which the question of his authority stands to the truth of his gospel. Considerable space is necessarily devoted at the outset to this matter, since it was of little use to argue, and of no

use to affirm, while his readers doubted his claim to be an authorized expounder of the gospel. The apostle carefully guards his doctrine from certain specious but false and mischievous inferences from it (5:13 ff), and a few other minor matters are touched upon. But the one central purpose of the letter is to arrest the progress of that perverted gospel of salvation through works of law, which the Galatians were on the very point of accepting, and to win them back to faith in Jesus Christ apart from works of law,—the gospel which Paul himself had taught them and which he believed to be the only true gospel of Christ.

Incidentally the letter affords us most important information which we cannot suppose to have been any part of the apostle's plan to transmit to us, but which is not on that account the less valuable. Thus no other letter contains so full and objective a piece of autobiography as that which he has given us in the first two chapters of this letter. Not less valuable is its contribution to the history of the apostolic age. It carries us into the very heart of the controversy between the narrow, judaistic conception of the gospel, and that more enlightened, broader view of which Paul was the chief champion in the first age of the church. The story is told indeed in part in Acts; but in the letter we have not so much an account of the controversy as a voice out from the conflict itself. The information is first hand; the colors have the freshness and vividness of nature. Not least important for us today is the testimony which the letter bears to the limits of that controversy. A just interpretation of the second chapter shows most clearly not that Peter and Paul were in sharp antagonism to one another, representatives of opposing factions, but that while they did not see altogether alike, and while, especially, Peter lacked the steadiness of vision necessary to make him stand firmly for the more liberal view, yet neither he nor even James opposed Paul. The opponents of Paul were certain "false brethren privily brought in . . . to spy out our liberty". They had indeed influence enough with the Jerusalem apostles to lead them to urge Paul to pursue a compromising course; but when Paul refused, the pillar-apostles virtually took his side and gave to him hands of fellowship, recognizing the legitimacy of his mission to the Gentiles.

From a doctrinal point of view the letter lacks the fullness and balance of the letter to the Romans. Yet its very heat and impetuous-

ness give it a value of its own. There are doctrinal passages in this letter which, on the points of which they treat, have no equal in any other letter of the New Testament.

The first task of the student of the letter, however, is not to cull out the biographical matter of the letter or to master its doctrine, but to gain a clear conception of its course of thought. This is in the main easy to do. Such obscurities as exist pertain to details only. The plan of the letter is as follows:

ANALYSIS OF GALATIANS.

I. INTRODUCTION.	I:1-10.
1. Salutation, including assertion of apostolic authority.	I:1-5.
2. Indignant rebuke of the Galatian apostasy, virtually including the theme of the epistle: The gospel which Paul preached the true and only gospel.	I:6-10.
II. APOLOGETIC (PERSONAL) PORTION OF THE LETTER.	I:11-2:21.
The general theme established by proving Paul's independence of all human authority and direct relation to Christ.	
1. Proposition: Paul received his gospel not from men, but immediately from Christ.	I:11, 12.
2. Proof: drawn from various periods of his life; including also in the latter part an exposition of his gospel.	I:13-2:21.
a. From his life before his conversion.	I:13, 14.
b. From his conduct just after his conversion.	I:15-17.
c. From his first visit to Jerusalem.	I:18-24.
d. From his conduct on a subsequent visit to Jerusalem.	2:1-10.
e. From his conduct in resisting Peter at Antioch.	2:11-14.
f. Continuation of his address at Antioch so stated as to be for the Galatians also an exposition of the gospel which Paul preached.	2:15-21.
III. DOCTRINAL PORTION OF THE LETTER.	chaps. 3, 4.
The doctrine of justification by faith (the distinctive doctrine of Paul's gospel as against the judaizing heresy) defended on its own merits, chiefly by showing that the "heirs of Abraham" are such by faith in Christ, not by works of law.	
1. Appeal to the early Christian experience of the Galatians.	3:1-5.

2. Argument from the fact of Abraham's justification by faith. 3:6-9.
3. Argument from the curse which the law pronounces. 3:10-14.
4. Argument from the chronological order of promise and law. 3:15-22.
5. The temporary and inferior nature of the condition under law. 3:23-4:11.
6. Fervent exhortation, appealing to the former affection of the Galatians for Paul. 4:12-20.
7. Allegorical argument from the two branches of the family of Abraham. 4:21-31.

IV. HORTATORY PORTION OF THE LETTER.

1. Exhortations directly connected with the doctrine of the epistle.
 - a. To stand fast in their freedom in Christ. chap. 5.
 - b. Not to convert liberty into license. 5:1-12.
2. More general exhortations. 5:13-26.

V. CONCLUSION.

1. Final warning against the judaizers. 6:1-18.
2. Appeal enforced by his own sufferings. 6:11-16.
3. Benediction. 6:17.

LETTERS OF PAUL TO THE CORINTHIANS.

History has left us no record of the first settlement made on the site of what in classical and New Testament times was known as Corinth. It was in the nature of the case that a city should very early be founded on the isthmus that joined the Peloponnesus to Attica and separated the Corinthian and Saronic Gulfs, and on that isthmus there could hardly be a more attractive spot for a city than at the foot of that remarkable rock citadel, afterward known as the Acrocorinthus, rising 2,000 feet above the surrounding region.

But the Corinth with which the reader of the New Testament has to do is not the Corinth of pre-historic or even of classical antiquity, but one which was in New Testament times a comparatively modern city. The Corinth of the Achæan League, of Thucydides and Xenophon, was destroyed by the Romans under Mummius in 146 B. C. A century later, in 46 B. C., Julius Caesar rebuilt and repopulated it. It grew rapidly, and another century later—it was almost exactly one hundred years later when Paul first visited it—it had perhaps 100,000 inhabitants. Its population was heterogeneous, including, almost as a matter of course in that day, many Jews. It was a wealthy, and a highly cultivated city, though possibly both in wealth and cultivation inferior to the Corinth which Mummius destroyed. It was so infamous for its vice that a word meaning to practice licentiousness was coined from the name of the city. Today there is upon the site of this city only a village of five or six hundred people, the modern Corinth being four miles distant on the Bay of Corinth. Until recently the only important remnants of the former splendor of the ancient city visible above ground were seven Doric columns, once part of a temple.

Excavations now in progress, however, promise to uncover a large part of the city. The American School of Classical Studies

having obtained permission to make excavations upon the site of the ancient city, began work in 1896. Writing in June, 1899, Professor Rufus B. Richardson, Ph.D., says: "When we began work in 1896 not one point in the full and explicit description of Corinth by Pausanias was fixed. . . . Now we have in three campaigns fixed the theatre, Peirene, Glauke, the Agora, and the Apollo Temple. We have unburied a city, or at least the heart of it, and have created a topography of Corinth."¹

The epistles of Paul, even apart from the book of Acts, yield us considerable information concerning Paul's first visit to Corinth. A comparison of Phil. 4:15; 1 Thess. 1:1; 2:2; 3:1, 6; and 2 Cor. 11:9 enables us both to reproduce the itinerary of Paul's first journey through Macedonia and Achaia, and to recover a number of other important facts concerning it. We see that Paul visited Philippi, Thessalonica, Athens, and Corinth. It is also evident that being left alone at Athens while Timothy (probably Silas also) returned to Macedonia, he was afterward rejoined at Corinth by these helpers of his, Timothy coming from Thessalonica, and he or some one else bringing him a gift of money from Philippi. As the bearer of this gift we can think of no one else so likely as Silas; both he and Timothy were with the apostle when he wrote his first letter to the Thessalonians (1 Thess. 1:1), though but a little while before he had been alone (1 Thess. 3:1); it seems most likely that when Timothy was sent to visit Thessalonica, Silas went at the same time to Philippi, the two perhaps returning together (cf. Acts 18:5). With what anxiety Paul awaited the return of Timothy and with what emotions he received the news from his converts in Thessalonica, we have already seen in his letter to them written at this time (1 Thess.). But must he not also have written a letter to the Philippians at this time, thanking them for their gift? Certainly it would be unlike the apostle to make no acknowledgment of this gift, if he had opportunity to do so. And we know that he had opportunity, for some one must have taken the letter to the Thessalonians to Thessalonica, and could also have borne a letter to Philippi. If there was such a letter, it must be counted among the treasures lost

¹ See *The Independent*, July 13, 1899, p. 1869.

to us. But the two letters to Corinth which we have furnish us no little information concerning Paul's work in that city. That he was the founder of the church, he says plainly in 1 Cor. 3:6, 10 and 9:1, 2. That with fear and trembling he preached in Corinth the gospel of a crucified Saviour with unadorned simplicity and without attempt to commend it by giving it the appearance of a philosophy, he declares 1 Cor. 2:1-5; cf. also 3:1, 2. He baptized but few of his Corinthian converts, not regarding this as a part of his special work (1 Cor. 1:14-17). He was supported while in Corinth, not by his converts there, but in part at least by the gifts sent to him from Philippi (Phil. 4:15; 2 Cor. 11:9).

All this we learn from the existing letters of Paul. The book of Acts tells in part the same facts, and adds some others of interest. Thus we learn that Paul labored with his own hands to support himself, that he began his work in the Jewish synagogue, but was constrained at length to turn from the Jews to the Gentiles, that he remained in the city eighteen months, and that before he left he was at the instance of the Jews brought before the proconsul Gallio, who, however, dismissed the case as having nothing in it demanding his attention. See Acts 18:1-17.

FIRST CORINTHIANS.

There are several indications that a considerable interval elapsed between Paul's first ministry in Corinth and the writing of the letter which we call First Corinthians. Yet this interval was by no means one of neglect of the church by the apostle or of the suspense of communication between him and them. The letter which we commonly call Second Corinthians refers to the visit which the apostle is then about to make to Corinth as the third (2 Cor. 12:14; 13:1). This implies that one visit had already been made since the founding of the church. Most scholars have judged it impossible to find place for this second visit between our two letters, and hence have held that it must have taken place before First Corinthians was written. First Corinthians refers also to a previous letter of the apostle to the Corinthians (1 Cor. 5:9). This letter is now lost. It probably followed the visit referred to above, since otherwise the visit would have furnished ample opportunity to correct the misunderstanding of its meaning. Still, later members of the household of Chloe brought the apostle news of the state of affairs at Corinth (1 Cor. 1:11). Stephanus, Fortunatus, and Achaicus

also visited him (1 Cor. 16:17), and they or others brought a letter from the members of the church (7:1) to the apostle. The letter which we have from the apostle was written from Ephesus (1 Cor. 16:19; 16:8), but the apostle was expecting before long to leave there. The residence in Ephesus thus referred to must certainly be that recorded in Acts chap. 19, and as that lasted between two and three years (Acts 19:8, 10; 20:31), and was preceded by journeys from Corinth to Jerusalem and Antioch, and thence across Asia Minor (Acts 18:18-19:1), the letter must have been written about three years after Paul left Corinth.

During all this time the apostle had undoubtedly borne the Corinthian Christians upon his heart, and as we have seen had several times had communication with them, in person, or by messenger, or by letter from them or to them. Just now there were several matters which urgently called for attention from him. The members of the household of Chloe had brought him news of the existence in the church of four parties. These parties called themselves by the names of Paul, of Apollos, of Peter, and of Christ, though there is no indication that any one of the three Christian preachers whose names were thus converted into party-cries approved of this use of their names. The Apollos party seems to have been made up of those who were captivated with the preaching of Apollos. Paul had studiously abstained from catering to the Corinthian love of philosophy, and had set forth the simple, to many repulsive, doctrine of a crucified Christ. Apollos coming after Paul (1 Cor. 3:6) had preached, it would seem, substantially the same doctrine, but had adopted a different method of presentation. Perhaps quite as much because of the cast of his own mind, as from a desire to win the attention or admiration of the Corinthians, he had translated the gospel into the terms of philosophy. Such preaching always attracts a certain class of minds—those who have, or fancy they have, a natural taste for philosophical methods of statement. It attracted some of the Corinthians, and this gave rise to the Apollos-party. The Paul-party was probably composed simply of those who stood by the apostle, the founder of the church and its first pastor. Of the Peter-party we have no definite information. The Christ-party we shall have occasion to speak of in connection with Second Corinthians. The references to it in First Corinthians would scarcely enable us to determine its character at all.

But other evils existed also in the church of the Corinthians. The vices of Corinth as well as its philosophy affected the life of the Christian community. One conspicuous case of immorality, surpassing in grossness even that which prevailed among the heathen, called for prompt attention and stern rebuke (1 Cor. chap. 5). The spirit of litigiousness prevailed too among the brethren, leading them to carry their quarrels into the courts of law, where they must of course be tried before heathen tribunals, to the disgrace of the new religion (6:1-11). Nor was the sinfulness of unchastity clearly enough recognized among the new converts. The apostle's own teaching that all things are lawful had apparently been turned into an excuse for sin, and he was compelled to interpret it, and to insist upon those other complementary truths which save it from becoming a principle of immorality (6:12-20).

In the letter which the Corinthians had written to the apostle they had asked him questions concerning marriage (chap. 7). Probably also the matters discussed in chaps. 8-14, things sacrificed to idols, the customs of public worship, spiritual gifts, were suggested to him by their letter. From some source unknown to us the apostle had still further learned that some among the Corinthians were affected with the Sadducean tendency and denied the resurrection of the dead.

It is evident that these various matters furnish ample occasion for this letter of the apostle; and in the light of the situation thus depicted, it becomes intensely interesting even at this day so long after it was written. In the following analysis the ten topics which the letter discussed are grouped according to what seems to be the source of the apostle's information, but are for convenience numbered consecutively in one series:

ANALYSIS OF I. CORINTHIANS.

I. INTRODUCTION, INCLUDING SALUTATION AND THANKSGIVING. I : 1-9.

II. CONCERNING MATTERS REPORTED TO THE APOSTLE BY THE HOUSEHOLD OF CHLOE. I : 10-6:20.

1. Concerning the factions in the church. I : 10-4:21.

 a. The situation stated. I : 10-17.

 b. Justification of the simplicity of his preaching among them. I : 18-3:4.

 c. Explanation of the relation between himself and Apollos, and of the relation of both to the gospel work. 3:5-17.

 d. How in view of these facts the Corinthians ought to act. 3:18-4:13.

 e. Concluding appeal and warning. 4:14-21.

2. The case of incest. chap. 5.

3. Lawsuits between members of the church. 6:1-11.

4. Fornication. 6:12-20.

III. CONCERNING MATTERS SPOKEN OF IN THEIR LETTER. chaps. 7-14.

5. Concerning marriage. chap. 7.

6. Concerning the eating of things sacrificed to idols. 8:1-11:1.

 a. General principles: such eating is lawful, but is not in accordance with love. chap. 8.

 b. Appeal to his own example in waiving his rights. chap. 9.

 c. Warning, derived from the Old Testament, against pride and self-conceit. 10:1-13.

 d. Argument from the communion table. 10:14-22.

 e. Conclusion: recognize Christian liberty, but let Christian love be supreme. 10:23-11:1.

7. Concerning women praying and prophesying unveiled. 11:2-16.

8. Concerning disorder in connection with the Lord's Supper. 11:17-34.

9. Concerning spiritual gifts. chaps. 12-14.

 a. The diversity of gifts. * chap. 12.

 b. Love greater than all gifts. chap. 13.

 c. Prophecy better than the gift of tongues. 14:1-25.

 d. Concerning the exercise of gifts in their assemblies. 14:26-36.

 e. Conclusion. 14:37-40.

IV. [SOURCE OF THE APOSTLE'S INFORMATION NOT INDICATED.] chap. 15.

10. Concerning the resurrection. chap. 16.

V. CONCLUSION: SUNDRY MINOR MATTERS, AND FINAL INJUNCTIONS.

SECOND CORINTHIANS.

Our First Corinthians is not a letter which could be the last word of the correspondence between the apostle and the Corinthian church. It called for an answer of some sort. That answer would naturally be awaited by the apostle with no little anxiety. Our Second Corinthians tells of the great anxiety which he had had after writing a certain letter (2 Cor. 7:8), and especially of the suspense with which he had awaited news from Corinth (2 Cor. 2:12, 13; 7:5), and the great joy with which he had at length received good news (7:6 ff.). It is natural to infer at once that the letter which for a time he regretted having written was our First Corinthians, and that our Second Corinthians is the next in the series, expressing his joy on the receipt of welcome tidings from Corinth. This seems all the more probable if we recall that First Corinthians was written at Ephesus when the apostle was expecting before long to leave there (1 Cor. 16:8) for Macedonia and Corinth (16:5), and then observe that when he writes Second Corinthians he has arrived in Macedonia (2 Cor. 7:5), having come thither *via* Troas, evidently from some point further south, and is on his way to Corinth (2 Cor. 14:12; 13:1). The journey which in Second Corinthians is in progress is precisely the one which in First Corinthians was contemplated.

But there are other facts about Second Corinthians which suggest that there has been more intervening history than this simple explanation of the relation between the letters would imply. Thus the first letter speaks of Timothy as about to come to Corinth, though his arrival there is not regarded as quite certain (1 Cor. 4:17; 16:10). When the second letter is written, Timothy is with the apostle again (2 Cor. 1:1), but there is no reference to any news brought by him: either he has not been in Corinth or the situation has so changed as not to call for any reference to him. Titus, who is not mentioned at all in the first letter, has just made a visit to Corinth, and the apostle has been anxiously waiting his return (2 Cor. 2:12, 13; 7:5). The references to the letter of the apostle to which Titus was apparently to bring an answer do not, on second consideration, seem perfectly to fit our First Corinthians. The letter to which Second Corinthians refers seems to have been severe against the church as such (2 Cor. 2:1-4; 7:8-11). But this can hardly be said of the first letter. Especially

does it seem difficult to suppose that what the apostle says in this second letter about the individual offender applied to the offender spoken of in the first letter (1 Cor. chap. 5). Second Corinthians speaks of one who had evidently committed some offense against the apostle personally, and against the church only in the fact of the offense against the apostle (2 Cor. 2:5-11; 7:11, 12). But the offense of the wrong-doer spoken of in the first letter, could scarcely by any straining of language be thus described. His sin was against an individual, against the church, and against God, but only in a very indirect sense against the apostle.

It must be observed also that the situation in respect to the parties has greatly changed in the interval between the two letters that we now have. In the first letter we read of four parties, though the apostle has little to say directly concerning any but the Apollos-party and the one which bore his own name. But in the second letter there are apparently but two parties, and it seems to be the Christ-party that is most bitterly opposing the apostle (2 Cor. 10:7; 11:23).

These considerations have led to the supposition that there was communication both ways between the apostle and the church in the interval between our First Corinthians and our Second Corinthians. The history may be reconstructed somewhat as follows: Our First Corinthians was taken to Corinth, but failed to accomplish its whole purpose. In some way, perhaps because the incestuous man was offended at the apostle's rebuke of him and succeeded in gathering a party around him which was able to control the action of the church for a time, perhaps because the leaders of the Christ-party took offense at even the mild and indirect reproof of them, and possibly gathered to themselves some of the members of the Apollos and Peter parties, — for some reason which we cannot state with positiveness,— the church virtually rebelled against the apostle. In connection with the discussion of the matter one man made himself conspicuous by his opposition to the apostle, apparently openly insulting and defying him. News of this was carried back to the apostle, perhaps by Timothy, who if he came to Corinth was unable to carry the case for Paul. When this sad news reached the apostle, he wrote another letter, more severe than the former, and with it sent Titus that he might, if possible, by personal entreaty and argument persuade the church to adopt the

course which the apostle enjoined. This letter—on this view the third which we know of the apostle's writing to the Corinthians—is the one referred to in our Second Corinthians (which might therefore be designated as Fourth Corinthians). The mission of Titus required a longer time than Paul had anticipated. It had been arranged that Titus should come to Troas, evidently by way of Macedonia. The apostle went thither from Ephesus, but being unable to compose himself to work there because of his distress of mind about the Corinthians he went on to Macedonia, hoping there to find Titus. Again he was disappointed, and his anxiety increased. At length, however, Titus arrived, bringing the long-desired report of affairs at Corinth. On the main question, and with the majority of the church, the efforts of Titus reënforcing the letters had been successful. The church had repudiated the action of the leader of the opposition to the apostle, and had inflicted a punishment so severe that the apostle was constrained, now that the essential point was gained in securing the renewed allegiance of the church, to turn and beg them to have mercy on the offender (2:5-11; 7:9-12). But the news of Titus was by no means wholly of a reassuring character. On the one side the church, though returning to their loyalty to the apostle, were still offended at his failure to keep his promises in the matter of visiting them (1:15-23). On the other hand, it is evident that there still remained at Corinth a party who were bitterly opposed to Paul, ridiculed him, and denied altogether his claim to be an apostle (chaps. 10 and 11). These opponents of the apostle evidently claimed to be Christ's in a sense in which he was not such (10:7; 11:23). It seems clear also that they claimed to be themselves apostles (11:5, 13; 12:11). This is, then, in all probability the Christ-party referred to briefly in First Corinthians (1:12, *cf.* also 3:22). And, indeed, in the light of these references to this party in the later letter, we are able to see that the defense of himself which the apostle introduced incidentally into his former letter as an illustration of the principle of waiving rights for the sake of love (1 Cor. chap. 9), had a real and vital interest of its own, and was in fact a defense of himself against the Christ-party. In respect, then, to the opposition from this party, matters have not at all mended since First Corinthians was written. It must be noticed, indeed, that this party was, as respects its leaders at least, composed not of members of the Corinthian church,

but of those who claimed a special relationship to Jesus, hence, in all probability, Jewish Christians from Palestine, who had seen Christ in the flesh. Yet they must have gained some following in Corinth, or the apostle would have had no need to make so extended a reply to them.

Such is the situation which gives rise to the fourth of the letters which we have reason to believe that Paul wrote to the Corinthians, our Second Corinthians, so-called. The news that Titus brings gives the apostle occasion for the expression of his joy that the church has at length renewed its allegiance to him, and calls also for an explanation of his seeming vacillation in reference to the visit to them, and for a vigorous defense of himself against his opponents, the members of the Christ-faction. He employs the opportunity also to urge the completion of the offering for the saints at Jerusalem.

The letter stands in one respect in sharp contrast with First Corinthians. That is simple and clear in its structure. This is broken, involved, full of digressions. Some scholars have held, indeed, that it is not one letter, but a combination of several letters of the apostle to this Corinthian church. Nor is it indeed impossible that there are passages of the letter, as we now have it, which are in reality fragments of some of the lost letters of the apostle to the Corinthians. Perhaps the most probable instance of this is in 6:14—7:1, a passage which seems to have little connection with what precedes or what follows, and the removal of which certainly leaves the course of thought more clear and straightforward. The remainder of the letter, however, despite its somewhat tortuous course of thought, seems quite explicable as a single letter written under considerable stress of feeling and of conflicting emotions. Its plan seems to be as follows:

ANALYSIS OF II. CORINTHIANS.

I. INTRODUCTION, INCLUDING SALUTATION AND THANKSGIVING.

I: I—II.

II. THE APOSTLE'S FEELINGS AND CONDUCT TOWARD THE CORINTHIANS, particularly in the matter of his proposed visit to them, and of his former letter.

I: 12—7: 16.

1. Declares that he had acted holily and sincerely.
2. Explains his change of purpose respecting his promised visit to them, and the motives of his former letter, and bids them now forgive the one whose wrongdoing had occasioned the letter.
3. His anxious suspense while waiting at Troas for Titus to bring news from them.
4. [Digression—a partial anticipation of his self-defense: See IV. below.] The manner and motives of the apostolic ministry.
 - a. Not with self-commendation or with letters of commendation from others, but in reliance on God, having been made by him ministers of a new covenant.
 - b. Using the boldness of speech appropriate to the new hope.
 - c. Without craftiness, preaching Christ only as Lord.
 - d. Weak and afflicted, yet living for others unto the glory of God.
 - e. Fainting not at persecutions, but looking unto the eternal things which are to come.
 - f. As ambassadors for Christ, responsible to God, living and suffering for men.
5. His love for the Corinthians and appeal for their love.
6. His anxious suspense while he waited in Macedonia for Titus, (*cf.* 3 above) and his great joy when Titus brought good news.

I: 12—14.

III. CONCERNING THE MINISTERING TO THE SAINTS (*cf.* I Cor. 16: 1-3; Rom. 15: 25, 26).

IV. DEFENSE OF HIMSELF AGAINST HIS OPPONENTS.

10: I—12: 10.

1. Repels the charges of his opponents, intimating charges against them, and affirms the authority given him by Christ.
2. With repeated apologies for boasting, and mingled denunciation of his opponents, he boasts of his Hebrew blood, his relation to Christ, his sufferings and labors, and his visions.

chap. 10.

V. TRANSITION TO THE CONCLUSION: his intention to come to them; the motives and manner of his coming.

11: I—12: 13.

VI. CONCLUSION: PARTING INJUNCTIONS, SALUTATIONS AND BENEDICTION.

12: 14—13: 10.

13: 11—14.

LETTER OF PAUL TO THE ROMANS.

THE letter of the apostle Paul to the Romans differs from all his earlier extant letters in that it is written to the Christians of a city which up to the time of the writing of the letter he had never visited. To whose labor or to what causes the beginnings of Christianity in Rome were due, it is impossible to say with certainty. Residents of Rome, Jews or Jewish proselytes, visiting Jerusalem and hearing the gospel preached there; travelers hearing of the new religion in the lands about the *Æ*gean Sea, where Paul and his companions had preached it; preachers of the gospel who went to Rome for the very purpose of carrying the gospel to the capital city—all these may have had part in bringing it about that before the apostle of the Gentiles found himself free to visit the great Gentile capital there was already there a band of believers whose faith was spoken of far and wide (Rom. 1:8-13). But it is a noticeable fact that the apostle makes no reference to any previous connection, direct or indirect, between himself and the church as such. Probably neither he nor any one closely associated with him had taken any leading part in the founding of the church. Equally noticeable is the absence of any reference to any other person as the founder of the church. The view that it was planted by Peter finds no hint of support in the letter—indeed seems plainly excluded by the apostle's conduct and his principle of not building on another man's foundation, which he announces in this very letter—15:20. The view most consistent with the internal evidence is that the church was in a peculiar sense an independent body, owing its existence to various influences rather than to the labors of a single apostle or missionary. Indeed it seems probable that the Christians in Rome constituted several groups or communities rather than one organized body. The letter is addressed to all Christians in Rome (1:7), but the word *church* occurs only in the 16th chapter, and then refers, as concerns Rome, to a local group of Christians rather than to the whole body of Christians in the city.

Concerning the character of the community the letter affords us somewhat more definite information. The Christians in Rome were evidently in large part of Gentile blood. Addressing himself to all Christians in the city the apostle definitely speaks of them as Gentiles (1:5, 6, 13). That there were also Jews or Jewish proselytes among the Roman Christians is indeed probable. Setting aside 2:17, which is merely an apostrophe, and 7:1, which rightly translated contains no reference to the Jewish law in particular, and 4:1, in which the apostle perhaps merely speaks from his own point of view, it still remains that Paul assumes in his arguments and references an acquaintance with the Old Testament on the part of his readers not likely to have existed if the church were simply and purely Gentile (the similar element in Galatians is to be explained from the Jewish influences to which the Galatians had been subjected), and especially that the scruples about food and days spoken of in chaps. 14, 15, are much more likely to have existed among Jews than among Gentiles. Yet the paucity of this evidence and the definiteness of the expressions referring to the persons addressed as Gentiles, leaves no room for doubt that these latter constituted the prevailing element of the Christian community. It was moreover as Gentiles that they became Christians. There is nothing in the letter to indicate that they had as yet come under such a judaizing influence as that, for example, to which the Galatian churches had been subjected. All that the apostle says concerning what they had been taught is in approval (1:8; 6:17; 15:14). This is not indeed enough to show that he was entirely satisfied with them. Yet when taken with the silence of the letter concerning any serious errors prevalent among them, and with what we know of the apostle's view of the judaizing heresy as being for Gentiles an utter perversion of the gospel (Gal. 1:7; 5:2 ff.), it goes far toward proving that the Christians in Rome already held a type of Christianity not widely different from that which Paul preached; it makes it quite certain that they had not accepted circumcision and the ordinances of the Jewish law as the foundation stone of their Christianity. This existence in Rome of a Christian community, not only predominantly made up of Gentiles, but holding a non-Jewish type of Christianity, yet not established by Paul, is itself an interesting fact and one which throws light upon the progress of Christianity in the apostolic age.

There is at first sight something rather perplexing in the evidence concerning Paul's relations to the Romans, and his reasons for wishing to visit them. On the one side it is evident that he regarded the Roman Christians as within the scope of his apostleship just because they were Gentiles (Rom. 1:5, 6, 13; 15:14-16). On the other side he declares that he has made it his aim so to preach the gospel not where Christ was already named, that he might not build upon another man's foundation, and that this has prevented his coming to Rome hitherto (15:20-22). There is an apparent inconsistency between this principle and his then present intention to go to Rome, which he has already announced and which only a few lines later he announces again. But this appearance of inconsistency is turned into a means of gaining a more exact knowledge of the apostle's principles and methods when we observe that in writing Rom. 15:20 Paul really has before his mind two closely related, yet distinguishable, principles respecting his choice of places of labor. The one pertains to the condition of the place in itself considered, the other to the relation to other Christian workers into which labor in a given place will bring him. The latter of these two principles is expressed in the words "that I might not build on another man's foundation." Its precise significance is made clearer by the comparison of 2 Cor. 10:13 ff. At Corinth other men had encroached on Paul's field of labor, seeking to pervert his followers, and thus to find occasion of glorying in things made ready to their hand by him. Of such conduct Paul declares himself not guilty. He would not encroach on another man's territory, or, as he says in Romans, he would not build on another man's foundation. Yet this principle does not exclude him from Rome. The avowal of the principle is followed immediately by the announcement of his intention to come to Rome. Moreover, he had long wished to come to Rome, and had been hindered not by anything in the history or constitution of the Christian community there, but by a temporary obstacle now removed (1:13), viz., the pressure of work further east (15:20-23). Indeed, he evidently feels it necessary to explain why he had not come before rather than why he comes at all. It is evident, therefore, both that Rome is not in the territory of another and that his principle respecting his fellow-workers, was not that he would not take up the work another had laid down, or carry forward what he had

not himself begun, but that he would not encroach on a territory that belonged to another, would not seek to proselyte a church founded on different lines from those which he approved. His principle of choice of fields, so far as it pertained to the condition of the field, is expressed in the words, "making it my aim so to preach the gospel not where Christ was already named." Obedience to this principle had kept him in the East till he had fully preached the gospel from Jerusalem round about unto Illyricum; and even now that his work in the East is finished, he can gratify his long-cherished desire to visit Rome only on his way to unevangelized Spain (15:24). Yet the fact that he writes to the Romans and that he plans to visit them even on the way, shows that his principle was not that he should never do any work in a field where Christ was already known, but that he should not allow such work to interfere with his own special task of *planting* Christianity in new fields. Combined into one the two principles become a determination to give the preference to unevangelized fields and never to labor in places where Christ has already been preached, either when this would be encroaching on another man's territory or when it would interfere with his own proper pioneer work. The former condition had apparently never existed in the case of Rome. We have at least no intimation in the letter or elsewhere of its existence. We are led to believe that though the field was not Paul's by right of having planted the seed there, yet it was his by virtue of its Gentile character, and belonged to no one else by any conflicting claim. The second obstacle had till now hindered him from going to Rome, but was now removed by the completion of his work in the East, and the fact that Rome could be visited on the way to Spain.

But why then does not the apostle start at once for Rome? Why did he write this letter instead of going? He had reached a turning point in his work as a Christian missionary. From Jerusalem round about even unto Illyricum he had fully preached the gospel, so that he had no longer any place in these regions (Rom. 15:19-23). The missionary journeys in Asia Minor, Macedonia, and Greece, of which we read in the letters to the Thessalonians, Galatians, and Corinthians, were all past, and by them he had lighted the light of the gospel in the centers of influence throughout the Greek world. His face is toward the West as never before. But one thing hinders him. He has

an errand to accomplish in Jerusalem. It is a matter of great consequence. Eager as he is to reach Rome, eager as he is to preach the gospel to regions beyond, the long journey to Jerusalem must first be made in order to carry to the poor among the saints there the offering of the Gentile Christians in Galatia, Macedonia and Achaia, and thus to bind together by bonds of love and gratitude the two great divisions of the church and to avert a schism of the body of Christ. How long time this journey would occupy it was of course impossible to foresee. Meantime he knows only too well that the same party whose influence he has reason to fear at Jerusalem, and who have for several years been moving westward along the line of the Gentile churches, is not likely to be inactive. The judaizers who have so nearly succeeded in corrupting the churches of the Galatians, and who have so bitterly opposed him at Corinth have not yet given up the fight. They do not seem to have reached Rome; certainly they had made no marked impression there. But no one could tell how soon they might take ship for Italy. The time which Paul's journey to Jerusalem would necessarily occupy would give them time to anticipate him in Rome.

The occasion of the letter, then, seems to be furnished by the coincidence of these facts: the completion of the apostle's work in the East leading him to turn his face toward the West; the necessity of postponing his journey thither long enough to make a visit to Jerusalem; and the activity of the judaizers, involving the danger that before he should reach Rome they would be there perverting the Christians of the capital from the liberal type of Christianity, which up to this time they had held, to the narrow, judaistic view of the nature of the gospel's mission. That the letter to the Romans was written to prepare the Roman Christians against a possible attack of the judaizers, is indeed nowhere explicitly stated, but the epistle is certainly admirably adapted to this end, and no more probable view of its main purpose has ever been suggested.

This does not, however, quite account for the whole letter. The practical ethical portion of the letter (12:1—15:13) bears no special marks of being directed against judaistic errors. It deals in part with broad principles of Christian morality appropriate to any church; in part with the relations of Christians to the state, a matter of special importance to Christians in Rome; in part with the conscientious

scruples, felt by some but not at all appreciated by others, concerning the eating of meat and the observance of certain days. Such differences of opinion on matters of conscience might easily become the occasion of dissension and division. Yet it does not appear that such division had actually occurred. In general purpose, therefore, this portion of the letter is akin to the earlier chapters. It seeks to build up and fortify rather than to correct or to rebuke; only the dangers which it foresees are from within rather than from without, and are moral rather than doctrinal.

Taking the whole letter together it is evident that it was written when the apostle was looking forward to visiting Rome, yet was temporarily hindered from going at once, and that its purpose was to set before the Roman Christians a clear exposition of the gospel of salvation for both Jews and Gentiles by faith apart from works of the law, and to enforce certain great principles of Christian morality, in order to protect them against the possible assault of judaizing error and to build them up in Christian character, particularly in the matters affecting their relation to the state and their internal harmony.

The course of thought is orderly and systematic, and in the main so clear as to leave but little room for difference of opinion concerning it.

ANALYSIS OF ROMANS.

I. INTRODUCTION.

1. Salutation, including description of the author's apostleship.

I : 1-17.

2. Thanksgiving for the faith of the Christians in Rome, and expression of his deep interest in them.

I : 1-7.

3. Theme of the Letter: The Gospel the power of God unto salvation to everyone that believes, both Jew and Greek.

I : 8-15.

I : 16, 17.

II. DOCTRINAL PORTION OF THE LETTER: Defense and exposition of the theme.

A. Sin and guilt universal, and hence justification by works of law impossible.

I : 18-3:20.

1. The guilt of the Gentiles.

I : 18-32.

2. The guilt of the Jews.

2:1-3:20.

B. But now a righteousness apart from works of law, available through faith, for both Jews and Gentiles,

has been revealed; this righteousness described and explained.

1. This righteousness comprehensively described.
2. Bearing of this on Jewish pride and exclusiveness.
3. Accordance of this teaching with law (*i. e.*, with the Old Testament conception of the nature and office of law) shown from the case of Abraham.
4. Blessedness and excellence of this salvation.
 - a*) Blessed consequences of justification: peace; joy in tribulation; hope of final salvation, fully assured since it rests on God's love manifested in our justification and proved by the death of Christ for us.
 - b*) Excellence of this salvation shown by comparing and contrasting the sin and death that came through Adam with the righteousness unto life that came through Jesus Christ.

3:21—5:21.

3:21—26.

3:27—30.

3:31—4:25.

ch. 5.

5:1—11.

5:12—21.

C. The changed relations of those that are justified, to sin, and law, and death.

1. To sin.
2. To law.
3. To death.
4. Triumphant summing up of the blessedness of God's elect.

chaps. 6, 7, 8.

chap. 6.

chap. 7.

8:1—30.

8:31—39.

D. The rejection of Israel.

1. The apostle's grief over the fact.
2. Yet God is justified therein.
 - a*) It violates no promise of God.
 - b*) It involves no intrinsic unrighteousness in God.
 - c*) It was foretold by the prophets.
 - d*) The failure of the Jews to attain righteousness is due to their own lack of faith.
3. The apostle's desire that they may be saved.
4. The fault of the Jews shown more explicitly.
 - a*) Ignorance of the divine way of righteousness.
 - b*) Wilful resistance: they heard but obeyed not.
5. The nature of this rejection explained.
 - a*) Not of the nation *in toto* but consisting rather in the election of a part and the hardening of the rest.
 - b*) Not absolute and final.

chaps. 9, 10, 11.

9:1—5.

9:6—33.

9:6—13.

9:14—24.

9:25—29.

9:30—33.

10:1.

10:2—21.

10:2—15.

10:16—21.

11:1—32.

11:1—10.

11:11—32.

6. Ascription of praise to God for his unsearchable wisdom.	11:33-36.
III. HORTATORY PORTION OF THE EPISTLE.	12:1—15:13.
1. The believer's offering of himself to God.	12:1, 2.
2. His duty as a member of the body of Christ.	12:3-21.
3. His duty as a subject of civil government.	13:1-7.
4. His duty as a member of society.	13:8-10.
5. Enforcement of all these exhortations by the nearness of "the day."	13:11-14.
6. Concerning them that are weak in faith.	14:1—15:13.
IV. CONCLUSION: PERSONAL MATTERS, FINAL INJUNCTIONS, AND DOXOLOGY.	15:14—16:27.

LETTERS OF PAUL FROM PRISON.

THE LETTER TO THE PHILIPPIANS.

THE two Macedonian cities to which the apostle Paul wrote letters that are still in existence, are both associated in history and by their names with Philip of Macedon. Thessalonica was named by Cassander for his wife, who had herself been named Thessalonica by her father Philip, in commemoration of the victory which he gained over the Thessalians. Philippi was the name which Philip himself gave to the city which he built upon the site of the ancient Krenides. Most students of ancient history will think of it chiefly as the site of the battle in which Brutus and Cassius were defeated by Octavian and Antony, and the Republic of Rome finally overthrown.

The earliest mention of this city in the New Testament is in 1 Thess. 2:2, where Paul says, "having suffered before and been shamefully entreated, as ye know, at Philippi, we waxed bold in our God to speak unto you the gospel of God." Of the experiences at Philippi on his first journey through Macedonia, thus briefly referred to by the apostle, we have a full account in Acts, chap. 16. Indeed, Luke himself was probably an eyewitness of these events, as is implied in his use of the pronoun "we" in vss. 11-18.

The letter to the Philippians which we have in our New Testament was written from Rome when Paul was a prisoner there (Phil. 1:13-17; 4:22). But since as late as when Paul wrote to the Romans he had not yet seen the capital city, it is evident that between the founding of the Philippian church, and the writing of our Philippian letter there lie not only all the labors of which Acts 17:1-20:3, and the letters to the Thessalonians, Galatians, Corinthians and Romans tell us, but the voyage to Rome as well. The long cherished hope of seeing Rome (Rom. 15:22-30) has at length been realized, so far at least as the arrival at Rome is concerned. How he reached there Acts, chaps. 20-28, tell us.

But this long interval between the visit to Philippi mentioned in 1 Thess. 2:2 and the writing of the letter before us, was by no means one of silence on his part or theirs. Twice, at least, while he was still in Macedonia, the Philippians sent him money to Thessalonica (Phil. 4:16) and still again when he passed beyond Macedonia, and was laboring in Corinth (Phil. 4:15; 2 Cor. 11:9). Is it not altogether probable that on each of these occasions Paul sent back some word, perhaps a brief letter at least, in acknowledgment of these gifts? This seems particularly probable in the case of the gift sent to Corinth, since we know that at about this time he sent a letter into Macedonia, our First Thessalonians. But it was not by letters only that communication had been kept up between the apostle and the church. Twice, it seems, he had visited them. When he left Ephesus after writing First Corinthians, he came into Macedonia (2 Cor. 7:5 ff), and doubtless to Philippi, since both the convenience of following the main roads of travel and the desire to see the brethren whose relations to him had been so peculiarly close, would lead him thither. Again, on returning from Corinth, on his way to Jerusalem for the last time, he stopped at Philippi (Acts 20:6). Coming still nearer to the time of the writing of the letter—we learn that since Paul's arrival in Rome the Philippians have sent Epaphroditus to him with a gift, and that word has been carried back to Philippi of the sickness of Epaphroditus at Rome (Phil. 2:25 ff; 4:10 ff). During all these years, therefore, Paul has been well informed concerning the affairs of his brethren in Philippi. His relations to them have been, moreover, especially intimate and friendly. The freedom with which he accepted money from them, while refusing it from the Thessalonians (1 Thess. 2:9; 2 Thess. 3:8), and the Corinthians (2 Cor. 11:7-9; concerning the Ephesians see Acts 20:34), testifies to his perfect confidence in them; and the silence of this letter concerning any serious error of doctrine or life indicates that the church had been exceptionally free from those things which had made the “care of all the churches” such a burden of anxiety and responsibility to the apostle.

The special occasion of this particular letter—perhaps the fourth that Paul wrote the Philippians—is evidently furnished by the gift which Epaphroditus brought, and by the fact that he, now recovered from his illness, is about to return to Philippi (4:10-18; 2:25-30).

The gift itself Paul may already have acknowledged, since he could probably have done so by the same messenger who carried to Philippi the news of the illness of Epaphroditus. But now that Epaphroditus is about to return he seizes the opportunity to tell the Philippians of his present situation, hopes and fears, to exhort and warn and encourage them, and in closing, once more to express his gratitude for their thoughtful remembrance of him and supply of his need. A definitely marked purpose controlling the whole letter is scarcely discernible. The dangers against which he warns are those which proceed from the judaizers, and from those who, going to the other extreme, perverted the Pauline doctrine of the sufficiency of faith either into an easy contentment with their present attainments, or into a still grosser justification of the indulgence of sin (chap 3). But this whole chapter was apparently introduced as an after-thought, and of the errorists to which it refers, we gain the impression that only those who too easily counted themselves perfect (3:15) are represented among the Philippians themselves; the judaizers and the sensualists constitute as yet only a danger from without. Aside from this, the only fault which is mentioned in such a way as to suggest that it existed among the Philippians is that of pride and factiousness (2:1-11; 4:2, 3), and even this is so lightly touched upon as to imply that it was not present to a serious degree. In the main the letter is simply the natural outpouring of the apostle's heart to a church with which he has always had the pleasantest relations, and with which he has little fault to find.

But if any one hastily concludes that a letter written thus without sharply defined and single purpose is necessarily tame and commonplace, he will greatly err. Whether Paul ever wrote a dull and uninteresting letter we do not surely know. Certain it is that the letter which Epaphroditus carried back to Philippi was not of that character. Interesting glimpses into the apostle's situation and experiences in Rome, and a still more interesting revelation of some of his deepest thoughts concerning Christ, warm personal affection and lofty religious aspiration, flashes of indignation against the mischief makers, and tears of grief over those who pervert the doctrine of Christ, combine to make a letter of surpassing charm and interest. Were it the only Pauline letter extant we should still be able to form a fairly true picture of Paul, and a fairly just conception of what he believed and what he

stood for. For its information concerning the life of the apostle and its light upon his character, for its contribution to a knowledge of his doctrinal conception of Christianity, and for its more general testimony to the history of the Apostolic Age, the letter will richly repay careful study. The following outline will show its course of thought:

ANALYSIS OF PHILIPPIANS.

I. INTRODUCTION.	I:1-II
1. Salutation.	I:1, 2
2. Thanksgiving and prayer for the Philippians.	I:3-II
II. ACCOUNT OF HIS OWN AFFAIRS AND EXPECTATIONS.	I:12-26
III. EXHORTATIONS TO THE PHILIPPIANS.	I:27—2:18
1. (Closely connected with II.) To live worthily, even in the midst of persecutions.	I:27-30
2. To live in unity and love, enforced by the example of Christ.	2:1-II
3. In general, to live a worthy Christian life.	2:12-18
IV. CONCERNING TIMOTHY AND EPAPHRODITUS, and Paul's own hope to come to Philippi. [Concluding exhortations begun, but immediately broken off.	2:19-30
	3:I]
V. WARNING AGAINST THE ERROR OF THE JUDAIZERS AND AGAINST THE OPPOSITE ERROR OF ANTINOMIANISM.	3:2—4:I
1. Against the Judaizers, enforced by his own experience and example.	3:2-II
2. Disclaimer of the (Antinomian) error that the begin- ning of salvation is also its end.	3:12-16
3. Against a self-indulgent (Antinomian) manner of life.	3:17-21
4. Concluding exhortation to stand fast in the Lord.	4:I
VI. VARIOUS EXHORTATIONS.	4:2-9
1. To Christian unity.	4:2, 3
2. To Christian joy and trust.	4:4-7
3. To all virtue.	4:8, 9
VII. THANKS FOR THE GIFT OF THE PHILIPPIANS.	4:10-20
VIII. CONCLUSION: Salutations and benediction.	4:21-23

THE LETTERS TO COLOSSÆ.

Several circumstances combine to indicate that the letter to Philemon and that to the Colossians were sent at the same time and to the same place. Thus both were written when Paul was a prisoner (Philem. 1:1; Col. 4:10, 18); in both he joins the name of "Timothy the brother" with his own in the salutation; in both he sends the salutations of Aristarchus, Mark, Epaphras, Luke, and Demas (Philem. 23; Col. 4:10-14); in the letter to Philemon, Archippus is joined with Philemon in the address, and in Col. 4:17 it is implied that he is in Colossæ; and, what is most conclusive, Onesimus accompanies both letters, and is distinctly designated as a Colossian (Philem. 10; Col. 4:9). We have, therefore, in this case two letters to Colossæ, one to the whole Christian community, the other to a single man on private business.

Where was Colossæ, and what were Paul's relations to the Colossians? Of the four rivers of some importance which empty into the Ægean Sea from Asia Minor, the southernmost is the Mæander, near the mouth of which lies Miletus. Some ninety miles from the sea it receives the waters of its tributary, the Lycus. On the banks of the Lycus, twenty miles or so from its junction with the Mæander, in the uplands of the province of Asia, lay the ancient Phrygian city of Colossæ. Its neighbors, Laodicea and Hierapolis, are both mentioned in Paul's letter to the Colossians (2:1; 4:13, 15). Had Paul not been constrained to change the plan which he had formed for the second missionary journey (Acts 16:6) he would probably have visited all these cities at that time; for one of the main roads from Pisidian Antioch to Ephesus ran through the Lycus Valley. But though he neither then nor later labored personally in these cities (Col. 2:1), it was doubtless through the indirect influence of his work in Ephesus that the Colossian church was founded (Acts 19:10, 26). Among the members of this Christian community were Archippus, who had somewhere, probably in Ephesus, been associated with Paul in Christian service (Col. 4:17; Philem. 2); Epaphras, who seems to have been chiefly instrumental in preaching the gospel in Colossæ (Col. 4:12; 1:6, 7); and Philemon, at whose house the Christians or a portion of them were accustomed to assemble (Philem. 1). Probably all of these had been converted under Paul's influence (Col. 1:7; Philem. 2, 19).

The letter to Philemon tells plainly the story of its occasion. Onesimus, a runaway slave of Philemon, had drifted to the city of Paul's imprisonment, Cæsarea, or more probably Rome, and coming under the apostle's influence was converted. Paul sends him back to his master, but with him a letter to Philemon, in which, with infinite tact and most gracious courtesy, he bids Philemon receive the runaway no longer as a slave, but as a brother beloved. Nothing could more beautifully illustrate the skill and gentleness of Paul, or the way in which the principles of Christianity softened and mollified those harsh institutions of ancient life for the full abolition of which the time had not yet come.

The occasion of the letter to the Colossians also appears, though somewhat less clearly than in the case of that to Philemon, in the letter itself. Epaphras had brought Paul word of "the love in the Spirit" of the Colossians (1:8). But from the same source, or from some other, Paul had evidently learned of certain men who had been disseminating false teaching among them (2:8 ff.). This leaven of false teaching must have been in part Jewish and legalistic, as the reference to circumcision, new moons and Sabbath days (2:11, 16) implies, yet was characterized also by philosophical speculation (2:8), the worship of angels (2:18), and asceticism (2:20-23). Whether these new elements were also of Jewish origin, or whether they reveal the influence of Greek thinking is not easy to determine. But whatever the source of this new teaching, it is evident that the tendency was to rob Christ of his preëminent place as the perfect revelation of God, the all-sufficient Saviour, the head of the church. To check these errors before they assume serious dimensions is plainly the chief purpose of the letter. The first chapter emphasizes the corrective truths, setting forth the exalted nature and office of Christ and the sufficiency of his work, and the latter part of the letter adds practical exhortations; but it is the second chapter that most clearly reflects the situation which the letter is intended to meet, and furnishes the key for the understanding of the whole. The plan of the letter is somewhat as follows:

ANALYSIS OF COLOSSIANS.

I. SALUTATION.

I:1, 2

II. PERSONAL PORTION OF THE LETTER: The apostle's rela-

tion to his readers, his thanksgiving, prayer, sufferings for them, and deep interest in them, with which is also blended exalted description of the office and nature of Christ, and of salvation in him.

1. The thanksgiving for the faith and love of his readers.	1:3—2:5
2. Prayer for them, passing into description of Christ according to his nature and office.	1:3—8
3. The apostle's sufferings on their behalf and his office as a minister of the gospel.	1:9—23
4. His deep interest in his readers and other Christians not personally known to him.	1:24—29
III. DOCTRINAL PORTION OF THE LETTER. Warning against the false teachers who, by philosophy, would lead them from Christ.	2:1—5
IV. HORTATORY PORTION OF THE LETTER.	2:6—23
1. Exhortation to live a heavenly life on earth.	3:1—4:6
2. To put away the earthly deeds of the unrenewed nature.	3:1—4
3. To put on the things which belong to God.	3:5—11
4. Respecting domestic relations.	3:12—17
5. Prayer and other Christian duties.	3:18—4:1
V. CONCLUSION.	4:2—6
1. Concerning Tychicus and Onesimus.	4:7—18
2. Salutations from those with him.	4:7—9
3. Salutations to brethren at Colossæ and instructions concerning the reading of the letter.	4:10—14
4. Signature and benediction.	4:15—17
	4:18

THE LETTER TO THE EPHESIANS.

At the mouth of the river Cayster, on the western coast of Asia Minor, almost directly across the *Ægean* Sea from Corinth, was the ancient city of Ephesus. Admirably situated for commerce, both by sea and by land, the capital of the Roman province of Asia, the seat of the world-famous Temple of Diana, it was next to Rome itself the most important city in which Christianity was planted in the lifetime of Paul.

The letters of Paul are singularly silent concerning his work in Ephesus. Aside from two passing allusions to it in 1 Cor. (15:32; 16:8) he never mentions it in any letter preceding the one now before us. What we know of the early history of the church we learn from

the book of Acts. Though there were Christians in Ephesus before Paul entered upon his labors there on his third missionary journey, yet it was doubtless due chiefly to these labors that there grew up in this great city a strong Christian church, and that Christianity obtained a strong foothold in the province of Asia (Acts, chap. 19 and 20: 17-35).

But was the letter known as the Epistle to the Ephesians really addressed to this church in Ephesus with which Paul lived and labored for more than two years? Most of the manuscripts, indeed, contain the words "at Ephesus" in 1:1. Yet three of the most trustworthy manuscripts omit these words, and there is other ancient evidence against them. This external evidence and the absence of personal references and of that tone of intimacy which so strongly characterizes all the letters of the apostle to the churches with which he had labored, has led many to conclude, probably rightly, that it was a circular letter addressed to a group of churches with most of which Paul had no personal acquaintance. It is not, however, necessary to exclude Ephesus from the list of churches addressed, since a circular letter must evidently be written upon the plane, so to speak, upon which all the churches addressed stand in common.

The fact that the same messenger, Tychicus, accompanied both this letter and that to the Colossians, and is in both commended in almost identical words (Col. 4:7, 8; Eph. 6:21, 22), together with the strong similarity of the two letters in other respects, makes it practically certain that this letter was sent at the same time with the two to Colossæ. Indeed, it is more than possible that this is the letter referred to in Col. 4:16 which the Colossians were to get from Laodicea and read.

And this fact respecting the time of writing may furnish us a clue to the occasion and purpose of the letter. Paul was sending two letters to Colossæ. The messenger would naturally pass through Ephesus, and near to other cities in which there were Gentile Christian churches, indirectly the product of the apostle's labors. Here then was a favorable opportunity to address to them words calculated to strengthen their faith and build them up in knowledge and Christian character. There is, indeed, a noticeable absence of any reference to the false teaching of which the Colossian letter speaks, and this undoubtedly indicates that the error was not as yet widespread. Neither is any other error of doctrine or of life directly criticised. The Ephesian

letter is positive and constructive, not polemical or even distinctly corrective. It reminds us in this respect of the first chapter of the Colossian letter, though the range of thought is wider in the Ephesian than in the Colossian letter.

While, therefore, the sending of the Colossian letter may have suggested the sending of this also, and while the thoughts called forth in the correction of the Colossian error seem to have given color to the encyclical epistle also, its purpose is not identical with that of Colossians, but somewhat broader and more general. Possibly we may discern two influences at work, and giving character to the writing. First, we must recognize the movement of the apostle's own thought. Both the Colossian and the Ephesian letter, the latter especially, show that he has been dwelling on the loftiest and broadest themes of Christian thought. He has risen above the controversies of the hour. Christ and his church are seen in their relation to the eternal divine plan, that plan itself seems spread out before his eyes. The purpose of God, formed from eternal ages, now revealed as never before, destined to be fulfilled in ages to come; the Son of God, in whom dwells all the fulness of the Godhead bodily, and in whom it is the divine purpose to sum up all things; the universal church, which is the body of Christ, and includes both Jews and Gentiles; the ideal of perfect Christian character to be attained through Christ in us—these are the themes that have occupied his thought. The very thinking of these thoughts would carry with it for him the desire to share them and their uplifting power with his brethren, and would impel him to seize the opportunity afforded by the going of Tychicus to Asia to write them down in a letter for these distant fellow believers.

But an additional motive reënforcing this impulse may well have been furnished by the situation at Colossæ. Though the Colossian error is as yet confined to Colossæ or to its immediate vicinity, so that it would be unwise to make any definite reference to it in a circular letter, yet the very existence of it would remind the apostle how subject to the attack of error all the churches are, and would impel him to do what he could to prepare them against every form of false teaching. A letter having that purpose must necessarily be general in character; yet if one was to be written what could it better contain than an exposition upon a broad and lofty plane of the glories of salvation in

Christ—a salvation provided in the eternal counsel of God, rich with present blessings, pure and high in its moral teachings, most glorious in its hopes and promises for the future, even for the ages to come? Nor is there altogether lacking a hint that he has somewhat specially in mind the danger that the Colossian heresy itself will spread. The heart of that error was too low a conception of the nature and office of Christ; and this letter, like that to the Colossians, exalts Christ, showing how the whole plan of salvation centers in him.

If the Christians of Asia can be made to see the glories of salvation in Christ, if they can gain something of Paul's own vision of the unsearchable riches in Christ, and can perceive that they are truly in Christ and in him only, then there is little danger that any teaching, though coming with the specious names of philosophy and asceticism, will be able to seduce them from the gospel which they have heard and accepted. With some such thought and purpose, we may believe, the apostle wrote this remarkable letter to the churches of Asia; least personal of all his letters, telling us little either concerning the apostle's own situation or that of his readers, but giving us the broadest view of Christianity, as it appeared to Paul, of anything that we have from his pen. Such passages as Rom. 11:33-36; 16:25-27; Phil. 2:5-11; Col. 1:9-29 have shown the apostle's capacity for this sort of writing, but no other letter furnishes so long-sustained an example of it. The apostle himself almost disappears from view, leaving us face to face with this wonderfully uplifting and broadening view of Christ and the salvation that is in him. The following analysis is an attempt to show the course of thought of the letter:

ANALYSIS OF EPHESIANS.

I. SALUTATION.

I:1,2

II. A DESCRIPTION OF SALVATION IN CHRIST, expressed in praise, thanksgiving, prayer, reminder; laying emphasis on the eternal purpose of God, on the richness of salvation, on the supremacy of Christ over all things, and on the unity of the church in Christ.

I:3-2:22

1. Ascription of praise to God for the blessings of salvation in Christ.

I:3-14

2. Thanksgiving for the faith of those to whom the letter is sent, and prayer for them that they may know the riches of this salvation.

I:15-23

3. Reminds his readers how great a change has been wrought for them by the life-giving grace of God. 2:1-10

4. Reminds them of their former state of separation from Christ, and declares that in Christ all former distinctions between Jew and Gentile are abolished, both being reconciled in one body unto God through the Cross. 2:11-22

III. TRANSITION TO THE HORTATORY PORTION OF THE LETTER: the apostle's right to pray for them and exhort them, and his prayer for them. chap. 3

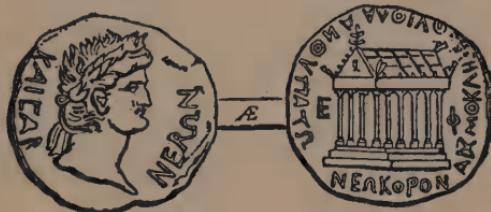
1. The stewardship given to him for them — The mystery of Christ which has been revealed to him. 3:1-13
2. The prayer for them that they may know the fulness of blessing in Christ. 3:14-19
3. Doxology. 3:20, 21

IV. HORTATORY PORTION OF THE LETTER. 4:1-6:20

1. To maintain unity in Christ. 4:1-16
2. To forsake the old impure heathen life and put on the new man. 4:17-24
3. Warning against falsehood, anger, theft, malice, evil-speaking. 4:25-32
4. Exhortation to love, and warning against uncleanness and covetousness. 5:1-14
5. Exhortation to be wise and sober. 5:15-21
6. Concerning domestic relations. 5:22-6:9
- a. On the relations of husband and wife as parallel to that of Christ and the church. 5:22-33
- b. On the relations of parents and children. 6:1-4
- c. On those of master and servants. 6:5-9
7. Concluding exhortation to put on the whole armor of God. 6:10-20

V. CONCLUSION. 6:21-24

1. Concerning Tychicus. 6:21, 22
2. Final Benediction. 6:23, 24



Coin of Ephesus.

LETTERS OF PAUL TO TIMOTHY AND TITUS.

In discussing the letters of Paul thus far considered nothing has been said concerning their genuineness; it has been taken for granted that they were real letters of the apostle Paul. This course has been pursued partly because the purpose of this Handbook is not to discuss critical questions, but on the basis of the results of criticism to present the Scripture material for the life of Paul in a form for study, partly because scholars are so nearly unanimous in their opinion that all the letters we have thus far considered are genuine.¹

With respect to the letters to Timothy and Titus, however, the case is different. The evidence of their genuineness is not wholly clear and decisive, the difficulties in finding a place for them in the life of Paul, as we are able with certainty to reconstruct it, are considerable, and modern scholars are by no means unanimous respecting their genuineness. Intimately associated with this question is the question whether Paul was released from the Roman imprisonment mentioned in the last chapter of Acts, and whether, if

¹ The genuineness of I Thessalonians, Galatians, I and II Corinthians, Romans, and Philippians is now admitted and maintained by practically all scholars of every school save a few Swiss and Dutch scholars (Loman, Pier-
son and Naber, Steck, Voelter) whose extreme views involving the denial of any genuine letters of Paul or even his historical existence, and accompanied in the case of Loman by the denial of the historic existence of Jesus, has won no following in Germany, France, England or America. With the death of Holsten (1897) there passed away the last distinguished representative of Baur's opinion that Romans, I and II Corinthians, and Galatians are the only genuine letters of Paul. While there is not the same unanimity respecting II Thessalonians, (Menezog doubts both I and II Thess.) Philemon, Colossians, and Ephesians, these also are severally maintained to be genuine by the great majority of scholars of all schools (Loman, etc. excepted). See WEISS, Present Status, pp. 46-59; RHEES, p. 45; STEVENS, N. T. Theology pp. 325, 326.

so, these letters (or the genuine portions of them) were written before or after such release. With the question of the time at which the letters were written, that of their occasion and purpose is of course connected, and it becomes difficult to deal with this last question without first considering those previously named.

The genuineness of the letters as we have them, is defended by many scholars, including Conybeare and Howson, Farrar, Dods, Gloag, Godet, Lightfoot, Salmon, Weiss.² They are regarded as wholly spurious by Holtzmann, Davidson, Sabatier, Weizsäcker.³ By Jülicher, Harnack, McGiffert it is maintained that an author later than Paul probably made use of genuine brief letters of the apostle or fragments of such letters, building about them material which adapted them to his own purpose.⁴ Those who deny the genuineness of these letters in whole or in part usually maintain that the apostle was put to death at the end of the Roman imprisonment narrated in Acts, and there was therefore no second Roman imprisonment. Harnack, however, though regarding but small parts of the pastoral epistles as genuine, maintains that for the events implied in these genuine portions, no place can be found in the period of Paul's life covered by the book of Acts. To this argument adding also that the statement of Clement of Rome (ad. Cor. ch. 5) that Paul went to the "extremity of the West" cannot be understood in a Roman writer to refer to Rome, but must imply a journey farther west, and that there are five years of Paul's life to be accounted for between the end of the two years of Acts 28:30 and the year 64 in which we must suppose the apostle

² See CH. APP. I.; FARRAR, EXCURSUS XXVI, XXVII, HUTHER, in MEYER'S COMMENTARY, 4TH ED. INTROD.: DODS, INTROD. TO N. T. PP. 167FF; GLOAG, PP. 369-391; GODET, PP. 558-611; FINDLAY, APPENDIX TO SABATIER; LIGHTFOOT, BIBLICAL ESSAYS, PP. 397-437; WOODRUFF, IN ANDOVER REVIEW, SEPT. 1886, PP. 61-78.

³ See HOLTZMANN. EINLEITUNG IN DAS N. T., 3RD ED. PP. 279-392; DAVIDSON, INTROD. TO THE STUDY OF THE NEW TESTAMENT, 2ND ED. VOL. II, PP. 21-73; SABATIER, BK. IV, CHAP. IV; WEIZSAECKER, APOSTOLIC AGE, VOL. I.

⁴ HESSE, DIE ENTSTEHUNG DER NEUTESTAMENTLICHEN HIRTENBRIEFE. JUELICH, EINLEITUNG IN DAS N. T. PP. 112FF. ESP. 127; HARNACK, VOL. I P. 239, NOTE; MCGIFFERT, PP. 398-419.

to have died,⁵ Harnack maintains that the release of Paul from his first Roman imprisonment is an assured fact (Chronologie, Vol. I, p. 240.) Spitta, discussing the question from a quite different point of view, holds also that the release of Paul can be proved independently of the question of the genuineness of the Pastoral Epistles. (Urchristenthum, Vol. I, pp. 1-108; cf. Critical Review, July, 1894, pp. 276ff.)

The tide of opinion seems, therefore, to be setting toward the recognition of the genuineness of portions of the Epistles to Timothy and Titus, and at the same time, in part independently of this judgment, toward the belief that Paul's life and missionary activity did not end at the point at which the book of Acts closes, but that he was released and after further missionary labor rearrested and put to death.

The first of these propositions it seems scarcely possible to doubt. Who can believe that any one invented and put into the apostle's mouth the words of 2 Tim. 4:5-21? What words in any of Paul's letters are more worthy of him, more characteristic of the man whom those letters reveal to us than these in vss. 5-8?

'But be thou sober in all things, suffer hardship, do the work of an evangelist, fulfil thy ministry. For I am already being offered, and the time of my departure is come. I have fought the good fight, I have finished the course, I have kept the faith: henceforth there is laid up for me the crown of righteousness, which the Lord, the righteous judge shall give to me at that day: and not to me only, but also to all them that have loved his appearing.'

If the second proposition is perhaps a little more open to doubt than the first, yet this also must be regarded as more probable than its opposite. And if it be true, as it doubtless is, that some portions of these letters surprise us by the diversity of their vocabulary and style from the vocabulary and style of the earlier Pauline letters, as well as by the condition of the church which they reflect, yet these arguments are by no means decisive against the genuineness of the letters as they stand, and only a criticism at the same time most acute and most sober can draw the line between the

⁵ This third argument is of course of weight only on the supposition that the Harnack chronology can be established, or at least the older chronology which places the accession of Festus in 61 or 62 can be disproved.

genuine and the spurious.*

Since the evidence against the genuineness of the letters and the obstacles to placing them substantially as we have them in the later years of the apostle's life, viz.: in that period which both the evidence of the letters and some other outside evidence tends to show followed the two years of his first Roman imprisonment, is indecisive and mainly negative, arising from the absence of other sufficient evidence that the churches were at that time in the condition here portrayed, it seems wholly legitimate to adopt as our working hypothesis (a) the release of the apostle from imprisonment, (b) the substantial genuineness and integrity of the letters. Upon the basis of this hypothesis, we may attempt to reconstruct from the letters themselves, the situation out of which they arose, and to state as clearly as may be the purpose and plan of each. The possibility of such construction will itself test the hypothesis to a certain extent, though until fuller light is thrown upon the evidence than we now possess it must probably remain to some extent hypothetical.

It will be useful first of all from the data of the apostle's letters and the slight outside evidence to draw up an outline of the apostle's journeys in this closing period of his life, even though such an out-

* Perhaps no attempt at analysis has more verisimilitude than that of McGiffert, who recognizes as genuine 1. Tim. 1:1-3a; 2 Tim. 1:1-11; 15-18; 2:1-13; 4:1, 2, 5-21; Titus 3:1-7, 12, 13, and possibly part of the first chapter. These portions were not, however, in precisely this order. The original letters McGiffert reconstructs somewhat as follows:

(a) Note to Timothy written about the time of Acts 20:1, containing 1 Tim. 1:1-3a (in a somewhat different form.) 2 Tim. 4:9, 11-15, 20, 21a.

(b) A letter to Titus, written from Macedonia or thereabouts, at about the same time as the preceding, and containing Tit. 1:1-6(?); 3:1-7, 12, 13.

(c) A letter to Timothy just before his death at the end of the Roman imprisonment, and containing 2 Tim. 1:1-12; 2:1-13; 4:1, 2, 5-8, 16-19, 21b; 4:10; 1:15-18.

Yet one cannot but feel, and McGiffert distinctly admits, that there is a considerable element of conjecture in such a theory. For further details of this reconstruction, and for his statement of the occasion of the original letters see McGIFFERT, pp. 404-409.

line must necessarily be provisional and in part conjectural.

1. In accordance with the intention expressed in Phil. 2:24, and Philem. 22, he, perhaps, went, upon his release, to Asia and Macedonia.
2. After such eastward journey, or without it, he probably fulfilled his intention of going to Spain. See Romans 15:24-28, and Clem. Rom. 1 *ad Cor.* 5.
3. He returned to the East and visited Ephesus, leaving Timothy in charge. (1 Tim. 1:3.)
4. He went into Macedonia; thence, or soon after leaving there, he wrote to Timothy. (1 Tim. 1:3.)
5. He went from Macedonia to Miletus, stopping at Troas on the way. (2 Tim. 4:13.) At Miletus he left Trophimus. (2 Tim. 4:20.)
6. From Miletus he went to Crete, where he left Titus. (Tit. 1:5.)
7. From Crete he went to Corinth, where he left Erastus (2 Tim. 4:20), and thence probably wrote to Titus.
8. From Corinth he went to Nicopolis (Tit. 3:12.). Here, quite possibly, he was arrested and sent hence to Rome.
9. In Rome he wrote Second Timothy, and here he was put to death.

FIRST TIMOTHY.

It has been pointed out in the discussion of the epistles of the imprisonment that the apostle had already had occasion to combat in Asia certain influences in part Jewish and legalistic in character, in part ascetic, and in part speculative—in the broad sense of the term philosophic. The language of 1 Tim. 1:3-11 and 4:1-3 points to the existence when this letter was written of tendencies similar in character. All three elements, the legalistic, the ascetic and the speculative, appear, as in Col. 2:8-23. In these facts is doubtless found one occasion for the letter. The apostle desires to instruct and encourage Timothy to maintain the pure and simple gospel against the legalistic, speculative, and ascetic influences which tend to corrupt it.

In 3:1-13 the writer deals somewhat in detail with the qualifications of church officers, and in 5:3-16 the place and duty of widows is discussed. It is evident that the churches to whose condition the letter applies are somewhat fully organized and that the apostle feels it necessary to insist upon those who hold official positions in the church being persons of high and pure character.

As in all the letters of the apostle, so in this he is concerned with the right conduct and pure life of the members of the church in general. In this particular letter he apparently is especially concerned with the danger arising from the love of money (6:5-10, 17-19). To Timothy himself, moreover, he addresses fervent exhortations to maintain a pure life and to give himself diligently to his work in behalf of the church (4:12-16; 5:17-23; 6:11-16).

Thus it appears that the occasion of the letter is found in the existence in the church of Ephesus, and perhaps in others of that region, of influences of a legalistic, ascetic, and speculative character, which the apostle desires Timothy to oppose and correct; in the necessity of selecting and training men of high and pure character to be bishops and deacons of the church, and of women to be workers in the church; in the necessity of inciting Timothy himself to maintain a high type of Christian life; and in the need of correcting the ordinary tendencies to low morality in the church, especially the spirit of avarice. The purpose involved in this occasion is through the instruction and exhortation of Timothy to purify, strengthen, and elevate the Christian life of the church in Ephesus.

The plan of the letter is as follows:

ANALYSIS OF I TIMOTHY.

1. Salutation.	1:1, 2
2. Timothy's mission at Ephesus.	1:3-11
3. Thanksgiving for his own (Paul's) call into Christ's service.	1:12-17
4. General charge to Timothy to war the good warfare.	1:18-20
5. Concerning the conduct of Christians.	2:1-3:16
(a) Prayer and conduct of public worship.	chap. 2
(b) Qualifications for church officers.	3:1-13
(c) Conclusion.	3:14-16
6. Prediction of future heresies.	4:1-5
7. Exhortation to Timothy concerning his personal conduct and example.	4:6-16
8. Treatment of the various classes in the church.	5:1-25
(a) In general.	5:1, 2
(b) Widows.	5:3-16
(c) Elders.	5:17-25
9. The duties of servants.	6:1, 2
10. Concerning false teachers.	6:3-10

11. Another personal charge to Timothy, emphasizing purity and uprightness of life.	6:11-16
12. Charge for the rich.	6:17-19
13. Final charge to Timothy.	6:20, 21

TITUS.

The letter of Paul to Titus was written when Titus was in Crete (1:5), that large island south of the *Æ*gean Sea (called in modern times Candia, but often spoken of still as Crete), which even in Homeric times was inhabited by a people of Hellenic blood, and which in very recent times has played a conspicuous part in European politics, giving occasion to the Greco-Turkish war.

Of the planting of Christianity in Crete we have no definite record. Cretans are mentioned among those who were in Jerusalem on the memorable day of Pentecost (Acts 2:11). It is quite among the possibilities that Paul visited the island from Corinth during one of his periods of residence there (Acts 18:11; 20:3; cf. 2 Cor. 11:25-27). The ship in which Paul was carried a prisoner to Rome lay for some time at Fair Havens, on the southern coast of Crete (Acts 27:8, 9), and it is possible, though hardly probable, that at that time Paul or some of his companions were able to preach the gospel to the Cretans. That to which we have definite testimony is the fact that shortly before the writing of this letter Paul and Titus had been in Crete together (1:5), and that at this time Christianity was already both established and to a certain extent corrupted (1:10-13; 3:9-11). It is improbable, therefore, that on the occasion of this visit the gospel was for the first time preached to the Cretans. More likely this visit was intended to correct and strengthen the Christians already there who had been converted at some previous time and under some influence not definitely known to us.

Titus had been left in the island "to set in order the things that were wanting and to appoint elders in every city." It appears then that Christians were to be found in several cities, but that the churches were not completely organized. Doctrinal errors were somewhat

prevalent, akin to those existing at Ephesus, but perhaps more strongly Jewish in character (1:10-13; 3:9). In morals, too, they were in need of sharp reproof and exhortation (1:10—2:15). The repeated insistence upon sober-mindedness (1:8; 2:2, 5, 6, 12) indicates that the Cretans were disposed to frivolousness and fickleness, lacking in moral earnestness and steadfastness. These facts respecting the Cretans who had accepted the gospel, and the presence of Titus among them for the purpose of correcting these evils, furnish the occasion of the letter. Doubtless Paul had said nearly all these things to Titus before he left him. But having opportunity to send him a letter, he confirms in writing what he had said in word, and adds at the end a few words on personal matters. Its purpose is evidently to strengthen and encourage Titus in the difficult and responsible task committed to him.

The structure of the letter is as follows:

ANALYSIS OF TITUS.

1. Salutation.	1:1-4
2. Titus's mission in Crete, especially the appointment of elders.	1:5-9
3. The vices of the Cretans.	1:10-16
4. Instructions to Titus concerning the things he is to teach the Cretans.	2:1—3:8
(a) Sober and upright living.	2:1-10
(b) This exhortation enforced by the past and future coming of Christ.	2:11-15
(c) Subjection to rulers and good works toward all, enforced by appeal to the goodness of God.	3:1-8
(d) Questions to be avoided, and the treatment of the factions.	3:9-11
5. Conclusion.	3:12-15

SECOND TIMOTHY.

The second letter of Paul to Timothy is of a more purely personal character than either of the other two pastoral epistles. It has almost throughout the distinct character of a last word of the aged apostle to his younger colleague in the work of the gospel. His own work for the churches is over. He is in prison, having already been put on trial once (4:16), and though he has escaped

condemnation for the time being (4:17) he anticipates nothing but a speedy sentence of death (4:6) and entrance into the heavenly kingdom (4:18). For himself he has no anxiety, but looks forward without fear to his death and with joyous anticipation to the reward which he will receive from the Lord, the righteous Judge.

Yet almost alone, Luke only being with him, he longs to see Timothy once more, and writes urging him to come to him. Yet he will not simply beg of him to come. Timothy may not reach him before death supervenes; and there are many things that he would say to him. There are perilous times to come, all the more perilous for Timothy that he is naturally of a somewhat timid disposition (1:6-8; 2:3; 4:5; cf. 1 Tim. 4:12). Already there have been apostasies and false teachings (1:15; 2:18). Nor is there any hope that these will cease. Rather will they "proceed further in ungodliness" (2:16), and "evil men will wax worse and worse, deceiving and being deceived" (3:13). The errors here depicted seem to have no special relation to those of which the earlier letters have spoken. They are, as befits the fact that they pertain to no particular region, but refer in general to what may be looked for in the future, for the most part of a general character. In these facts and in the apostle's eager desire to see Timothy once more lies the occasion of the letter and the indication of its purpose. Before the dying soldier of the cross passes away he will send to his beloved Timothy one more message of warning, encouragement, incitement, and, if possible, impart to him something of his own intrepid courage.

If his life is prolonged till Timothy can reach him all these things and more will be said *viva voce*. But against the possibility that this cannot be, this letter shall carry to him these fervent words, the inspiring message of the veteran apostle to his younger comrade, warning him of the foes he will have to contend with, and bidding him suffer hardship as a good soldier of Jesus Christ.

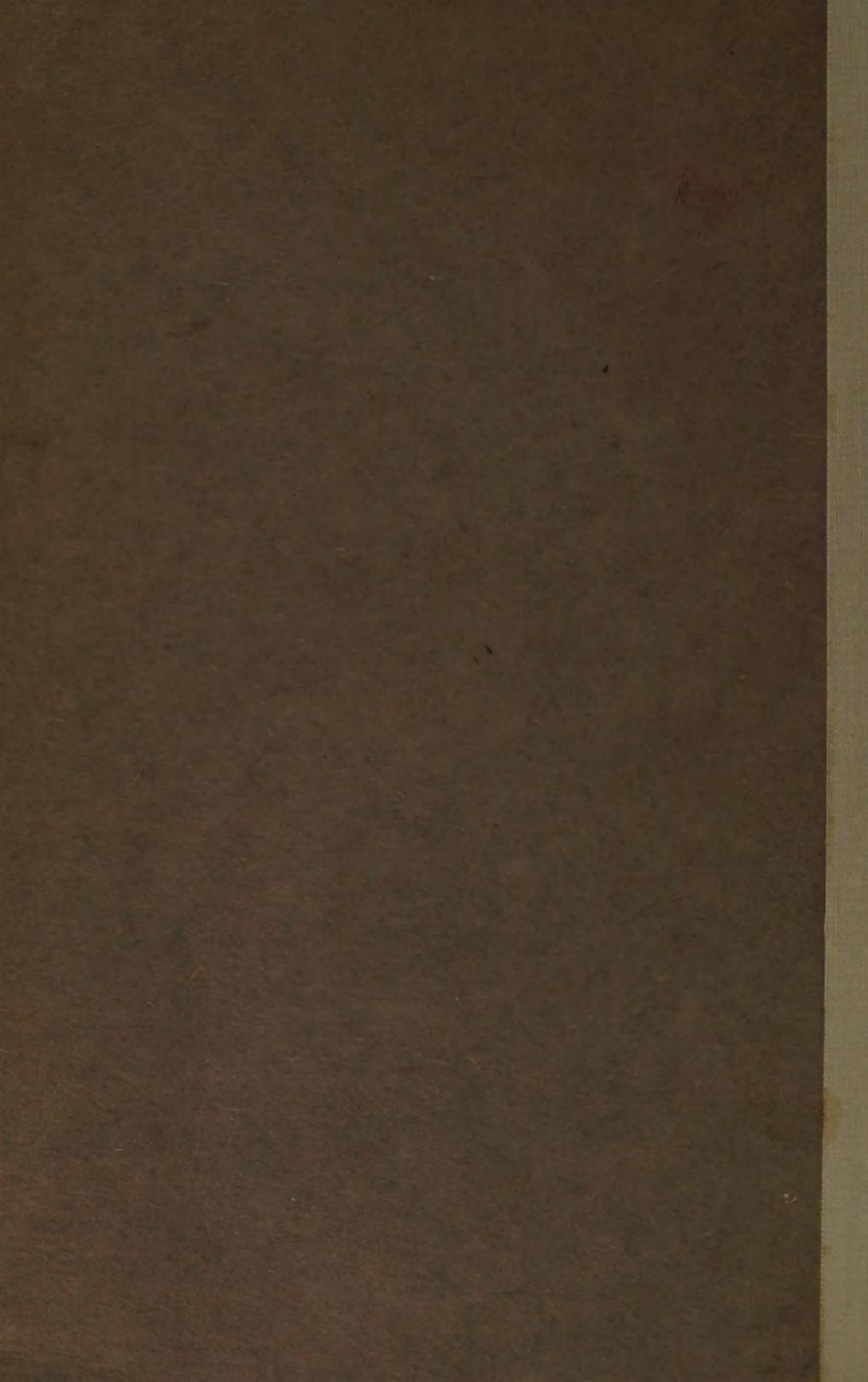
The following analysis is intended to show the structure of the letter:

ANALYSIS OF II TIMOTHY.

1. Salutation.	1:1, 2
2. Mingled thanksgiving, reminiscence, and exhortation; designed to encourage Timothy to live faithfully and truly.	1:3-14
3. Concerning Phygelus and Hermogenes, who turned away from him, and the kindness of Onesiphorus.	1:15-18
4. Exhortation to soldierly courage, enforced by his own example.	2:1-13
5. Instruction concerning them that are in danger of being led away, and his own conduct in relation to them.	2:14-26
6. Prediction of coming evils and exhortation to steadfastness.	chap. 3
7. Solemn charge to Timothy concerning his future work, and announcement of the approaching end of the apostle's own course.	4:1-8
8. Conclusion: Personal matters, salutations and benediction.	4:9-22

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